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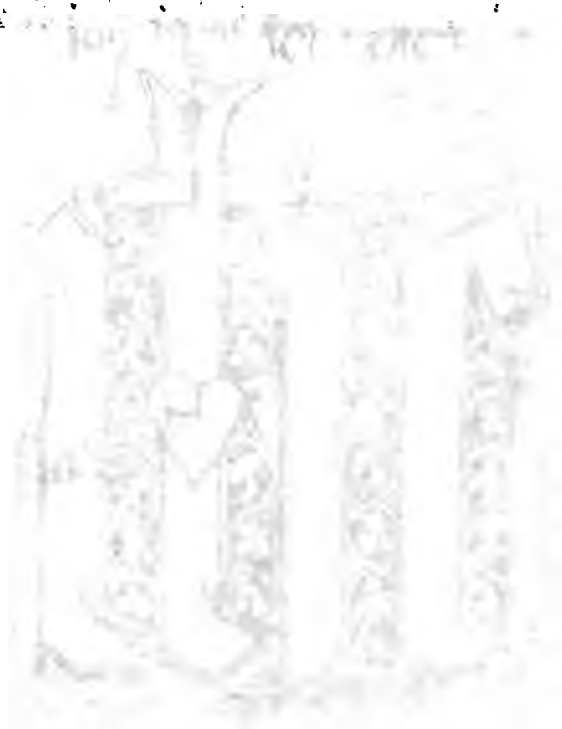


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PERMANENT VALUE, THE PREFERENCE
TO BE GIVEN TO WORKS OF HISTORY,
POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIOLOGY"

from p. 122 b.

The Boke of Brome.



And he be cum for good man as he shal
 in bedyn bedyn and almoste beset
 And forny god in othe wylle
 And forny and forny in othe forny
 forny forny the evagelyst
 forny forny in othe in othe
 forny tale the toles in luyne
 in forny wylle in forny
 the bad and unwholpfull all man kind
 the forny of othe in forny
 the forny the calling
 god forny be all forny blessed. Amen



A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century.

Suffolk.

A Common-place Book

OF THE

FIFTEENTH CENTURY,

CONTAINING

*A Religious Play and Poetry, Legal
Forms, and Local Accounts*

Printed from the Original Manuscript at
Brome Hall, Suffolk

BY

LADY CAROLINE KERRISON

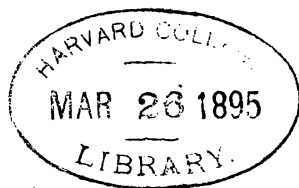
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P R E F A C E.

A SMALL paper manuscript volume was lately put into my hands by Dr. G. H. Kingsley, who found it while turning over the interesting papers connected with the manor of Brome, in the muniment-room attached to the land-agent's office of that place. The owners, Sir E. and Lady Caroline Kerrison, having kindly given free permission to make what use I pleased of the manuscript, I printed two of the pieces, with a short account of the volume, and a few extracts, in Mr. Walter Rye's *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, vol. iii., and in two German periodicals, *Anglia*, 1884, and *Englische Studien*, 1885. Lady Caroline now wishing to put the whole of the little book into print, I willingly undertook, at her request, to see it through the press, and to add some explanatory notes.

Brome Hall and Brome Manor are in Suffolk; there is, however, no mention of Brome in the volume; the local entries chiefly relate to Stuston (or Sturston), a neighbouring Suffolk village, and to Scole, which lies in Norfolk, the shire boundary passing along the river Waveney and between these parishes. Brome Hall was bought by the grandfather of the present owner, Sir Edward Kerrison, Bart., from the Cornwallis family, in whose possession it had

been since early in the fifteenth century. This book, which chiefly concerns Stuston, probably came into the Brome muniment-room in consequence of the united ownership in four neighbouring manors, of which Brome finally became the more prominent.¹ Robert Melton of the accounts was a Stuston man: Mistress Froxmer was a daughter of the Cornwallis family, and Melton, as shown hereafter, was probably steward of the Cornwallis property and the adviser of the family. He wanted to put down his notes of manorial dues and other matters relating to Stuston leet and court baron law, and finding this volume only half filled with poetry, used it for his purpose.

The book is paper, of eighty-one leaves, eight inches long by five-and-a-half wide, with a much-worn parchment cover and flap, stitched to the quires with a piece of cowhide at the back. The contents are of three classes: (1) poems, chiefly of a religious character, for which the volume was apparently originally intended, written in a neat hand of the second half of the fifteenth century, occupy about half the pages; (2) documents of territorial law entered for domestic use on the manor, partly in the same hand, partly in one somewhat later; and (3) a few private accounts on the blank leaves between, which have been utilized for this purpose. The earliest of these accounts is dated from 15th to 19th Henry VII., the latest 23rd Henry VII.

The first three leaves are filled with short pieces or fragments, a prelude to the longer religious poems. The first fac-simile represents the back of the first leaf, containing the curious old puzzles printed on pp. 12, 13. The second fac-simile is of the page which concludes the first of the longer poems, *Epotys*, a curious religious catechism or dialogue between the Emperor Adrian and Christ under

¹ Before 1506 John Cornwallis possessed the manors of Brome, Stuston, Okeley, and Thranston (see p. 6).

the form of a child. Hence the appropriate design of some of the sacred signs, among which it is unusual to find the heart introduced. This poem has never before, I believe, been printed in England. The most interesting of the poems is the play of *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, which differs from others yet known. There is nothing to indicate, unfortunately, whether the play was performed in the splendid old manor-hall at Brome, or, may be, in the neighbouring town of Diss, where the two gilds of St. Nicholas and Corpus Christi may possibly one or both have undertaken to set it forth (for friendly links between Stuston and Diss see after, pp. 126, 127). Imagination has room to speculate alike on the place and the actual actors in the performance, who probably did not differ greatly in their acquirements from those of contemporary plays in other parts of England, such as Coventry, Chester, and York. A single play, requiring but a small body of players, might be more easily set forth in the rural towns of the country-side of East Anglia, than the large collections, which required the combined efforts of the craftsmen in the greater midland cities. It is, however, a fact that this is the first specimen of a mediæval religious play from this part of England. Of the three other long pieces, *Fifteen Signs of Doom*, *Owain Miles*, and *St. Margaret*, the second is most worthy of attention, as a good copy of a somewhat rare version. After the *Carol*, which ends these religious pieces, seemed the fitting place to put the directions for *Prayers* and for a *Trental*, which are found in the MS. before and after it, though in a different and later hand, apparently that of Robert Melton.

Of the second class, the articles of a Court Leet and Court Baron are well known: I do not think these comprise any special local customs. The copies of deeds and grants, though perhaps connected with names or places in the neighbourhood, have been entered as forms or models;

in this fact, and in a few rare words, lies their chief interest. But the leaves on which are written the "felson booke," the "boke for the taske," and the church "duties," all giving lists of monies due in respect of certain tenements in Stuston, are of the interest which attaches to all local details and accounts belonging to old manors and what may be called domestic law. "Felson" refers to a local custom by which certain tenants paid for the right of commoning on the commons of East and West Stuston; by the law of England tenants of the manor itself should have free right of common. These lists, therefore, may refer either to strangers, *i.e.*, non-dwellers, admitted to the common, who paid for the privilege, or to some extra privileges allowed to inhabitants upon payment. The names of the Prioress of Flixton, and the town of Diss, point to the first explanation, while, on the other hand, a comparison of the other names with those in the lists for the "Taske" and the "Church Duties" show that they are those of men belonging to Stuston. The customs of common-right were various, as is well known. I must leave the explanation to those better versed in local usage. The meaning of the word *felson* itself is obscure. There is an Icelandic verb *fela*, to hide, which among other meanings was used in the sense of putting out to keep (cattle); hence a noun *fulga* (*fulgu* in compound words), signifying the fee paid for keep. *Felson* apparently comes from this root used in this sense; the second syllable being another form of *sam* or *some*, together, as in jetsam, flotsam. *Jetson* and *flotson* are the Norfolk forms of these law-words.²

The assessment list of the "taske" (written in a different and somewhat later hand) shows a much higher rate of payment, even allowing for twenty or thirty years' difference in date. This "taske" (or tax) was probably the customary

² See Cleasby and Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary*, and Glossary at end of Blomefield's *Norfolk*.

composition of the tenants for the agricultural service or socage due by feudal tenure to the lord of the manor; and here again we find that the manor of Stuston had certainly three "foreigners" holding there, the town of Diss and two manors, How Margaretts and Facons; to the church dues "the playesse longyng to the Toune of Disse" also has to pay its quota. The "duties belonging to the church," probably established by ancient custom, were of three kinds, plow-shot (or plough-scot), sometimes called plow-alms (*Mon. Angl.* i. p. 256) which was a penny paid for every plow-land or hide (carucate); a portion for curtilage and a portion for a lock or locks. These sums usually come together for one tenant (in some cases only two of the charges are named), and it will be observed that the money paid for a "lock" was a halfpenny farthing, that for a plow-land one penny, and that for a curtilage one halfpenny. "Lock" or loke is a Norfolk word for a broad lane or way, as across a common or waste; these are numerous in some parts, and being clear and turfy are often let as pasture. Thus, the holders were assessed to the church on the curtilage or land immediately round the tenement, and the arable land according to measure, each separately. No dates are given with any of these felson, task, or church lists, which must have been made as memoranda to guide the manorial officers.

Lastly, the accounts of Robert Melton, to whom this book probably belonged when he wrote them in its blank leaves, are one more contribution to our knowledge of prices in a part of the country whose chief wealth lay in its barley crops. Melton was, perhaps, a well-to-do farmer. He was evidently a man of some position and property, from the fact that several tenements are mentioned under his name as liable to felson, task, and church dues. He was evidently also a trusted friend, perhaps the steward of the Cornwallis family, for he was co-executor with

William and Robert Cornwallis to their eldest brother John, who died in 1506, (lord of the manors of Brome, Stuston, Okely, and Thranston).³ The only sister of these brothers, Catherine Cornwallis, married Francis Froxmer, Esq., and had a daughter Elizabeth, to whom John Cornwallis left ten pounds, "and to her sustenance" 56s. 8d. This Catherine Froxmer must be the Mastras Froxmer of Robert Melton's accounts of 1507-8, and it is not improbable that the transactions there recorded may have been in part a carrying out of his executorship with regard to her daughter. The agreement with Roger Page of Scole (p. 175) shows the importance of his dealings, which besides extended to Diss in Norfolk, Eye in Suffolk, and many other neighbouring places. The local measures, the coomb of "Chapman's mett," and the bushel of "Harleston's mett," should be noted in this curious little document.

The food-stuffs bought and sold in the accounts are wheat, barley, mesclin, malt, oats, and pease; the two latter only occur once. Mesclin is mixed corn, usually wheat and rye: the word appears to be French in origin—*mesclaïne*, blé meteil (*Ducange*); *mesclé*, masslin, wheat and rye mingled (*Cotgrave*); *meslin*, *maslin* (*Bailey*). It is still known in the two latter forms as a kind of furmenty or sweet dish made from mixed corn, and forty years ago maslin bread was much relished on good Yorkshire tables. The mixed corn appears to have been sown and threshed together: see Tusser, *Februaries Husbandrie*, sta. 21, and *Cotgrave s.v. Tramois*. *Dragge* or *dredge* was another name for mixed corn, oats and barley or oats and wheat; perhaps the same also as mesclin. See for various forms of the words, and references, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Soc. *s.v. Mestlyone* and *Dragge*. Mr. Thorold Rogers, in his *History of Prices*, mentions *drageum*, but does not appear to understand what it was.

³ See the will of John Cornwallis at length in Collins' *Peerage*, 1812, vol. ii. p. 539.

The interesting little account on fos. 62 v°. 63 (p. 167, 168) is written in a hand closely resembling Melton's, but if the writer were indeed he, "my brother William Kempe" must have been his wife's brother. It appears somewhat improbable that he should have paid for the board of his brother-in-law two years, and for his dress ("a gown for my brother William"). We may rather suppose that "William" was a younger brother, who, together with their mother, looked to the writer as holding the purse in this Kempe family. Melton or Kempe, it is evident that the Stuston gentry went to Norwich when they wanted to buy a bonnet of velvet, a frontlet of satin lined with velvet, or the materials for a gown of tawny cloth.

A recipe, rather imperfect, as it consists of the materials only,—and not how to use them,—for the jaundice, which is written on a blank page amidst the accounts, by the same hand, finds here a more convenient place at the end of the volume.

The following is an account of the contents of the manuscript, in the order in which they occur.

Fo. 1. *Rules for Conduct*. A poem in twenty-six lines, on the old saying "measure is treasure;" also four lines of common sayings (pp. 11, 14).

Fo. 1 v°. *Cipher puzzles and sayings*. See fac-simile (pp. 12, 13).

Fos. 2—3 r°. *Lines on casting the dice* (p. 15).

Fos. 5—14 v°. *Adrian and Epotys* (pp. 20—46). See second fac-simile.

Fos. 15—22. *Play of Abraham and Isaac* (pp. 46—69).

Fos. 23—26 v°. *The Fifteen Signs of Doom* (pp. 69—79).

Fo. 27. *Accounts of Robert Melton of Stuston* (pp. 174).

Fos. 28—38. *The Knight Sir Owen (Owain Miles)* (pp. 80—106).

Fos. 39—44. *Fragment of the Life of St. Margaret and Sir Olybryus* (pp. 107—118).

- Fos. 45, 46. *Accounts of Robert Melton* (pp. 172, 173).
 Fos. 47—50. *The Felson Book of Stuston* (pp. 124—128).
 Fos. 51—55. *Articles of enquiry at "The corte baronne"*
 (pp. 151—160).
 Fos. 55—59. "*Articuli lete*" (pp. 160—166).
 Fo. 59 v°. *Agreement and quittance for delivery of
 barley* (p. 175).
 Fo. 60 v°. *Book for the Task of Stuston* (p. 128).
 Fo. 62. *Private account*, ? R. Melton or Kempe
 (p. 167).
 Fo. 63. *Recipe for the Jaundice* (p. 176).
 Fo. 64, 65. *Church Duties at Stuston* (p. 129).
 Fo. 65 v°—67 v°. *Accounts of R. Melton* (p. 168.)
 Fos. 68—77. *Forms of charters, bonds, &c., with
 translations into English, dated from 3rd Edward III. to
 30th Henry VI.* (pp. 131—151).
 Fo. 77 v°. *Accounts of R. Melton* (p. 171).
 Fo. 78 v°. *List of Prayers to be said* (p. 119).
 Fo. 79 v°. *A Carol of the Annunciation* (p. 122).
 Fo. 80. *Directions for a Trental* (pp. 119—122).
 Fo. 81. *Part of Poems by Lydgate* (pp. 18—20).

For the sake of convenience and unity these miscellaneous contents are, in the present volume, grouped together in the three classes which are indicated before (p. 2). To each of the principal poems a short preface is adjoined, giving notes on the subject and its versions, with references to authorities, some pains particularly being devoted to *Adrian and Epotys* and *Owain Miles*, the former of which has hitherto received scant treatment in this country. In each instance it has been compared, and the lines numbered to correspond with other prints, if existing, while only those chief variants are given at the foot which show a different or improved reading. The aim has been to give an intelligible literary sketch and an accurate text from this manuscript, which might prove of interest to the intelligent reader, and

not be unserviceable to the student. Two or three other considerable entries, such as those for the Courts Baron and Leet, of a Trental, and Forms of Charters, are also accompanied by a prefatory note and some explanations of difficult words.

The language does not call for more than a few explanatory foot-notes. A few interesting local words occur, as in the translations of charters—*ostey* = *hospicium* (p. 149), *dow-hous*, *turre-dolle*, *feeding* (pp. 138, 146, 150); *tayke*, *chewache*, *gersom*, *owtas*, *mere*, *brushall*, *dowle*, *fey*, *skip-stile*, *fal-gate* in the Articles of Courts Baron and Leet; *felson*, *lock*, *mesclin*, *chete*, *taueylens*, in the Accounts (see before, pp. 4, 6, and 124, 129, 167, 168). In the pronunciation may be noticed the flat *sch* for the sharp *ch* (initial), as *schereys*, *schonge*, for cheers, change (*Abraham and Isaac*, ll. 18, 179); *schyffe* for chief, (p. 142); flat *ache* for sharp *age*, as *chewache* for chevage (art. 15, p. 157). A peculiarity of orthography may be pointed out, namely, the doubling of the consonant after the long vowel in such words as *felle*, *helle* = *fele*, *hele* (*Owain Miles*, ll. 13, 14); *stell* = *stele* (l. 90), *sell* = *sele* (seal) (l. 156), *knell*, *dell*, = *kneel*, *deal* (*Abr. and Is.*, ll. 88, 409). The adverb *wel* has not only become *well*, but has shortened its vowel in this East Midland MS. to *wyll*, rhyming with *sell*, e.g. (*O. Miles*, ll. 151, 155, 217). The word *wyll* here represents six modern words—*well* (l. 374), *while* (ll. 180, 204), *will* (l. 162, A 7), *wheel* (l. B 30), *weal* (l. 530), and *wall* (l. 463, *Epotys*, l. 382). The guttural *g*, in such words as *knyth*, *myth*, *ryth*, &c., is left out; while some strong consonants in the middle of words are suppressed, as the *g* in *stronly* (*Abr. and Is.*, ll. 78, 208), *nd* in *commawmentes*, *comamentes* (ll. 46, 92, &c.), and the *t* in *conwnauns* (countenance).

In printing, the contractions of the manuscript are extended in italics, except in the case of the Latin charters.⁴

⁴ The few extensions in the accounts also are not distinguished.

There are few peculiarities to note. The crossed *fi* and *h* are constantly used in the poetry, though not in the English charters written by the same hand; but for this date (1470 or 1480) it did not seem necessary to treat them otherwise than as *ll* and *h*. The initial letters of the lines of verse are nearly all capital, and invariably rubricated; a red line, too, is drawn under every proper name and frequently under other words, especially substantives, or two or three words at the beginning of a speech: this may be to signify emphasis, but there is no apparent rule. The *p* is written throughout the MS. like *y*.

The handwriting is of three kinds. All the poems, including the carol and other short pieces at the end, are written in the small close neat hand of a professional writer. The charters and their translations appear to have been done by the same; while, very different from this, the "articuli lete" and "corte baron" are apparently in the same large loose hand which wrote the Accounts and the Trental, viz., that of Robert Melton (dated from 1499 to 1508, see pp. 167, 174). Only the two pages of the "Taske Book" are by a third hand. The poems and charters may have been copied-in some twenty or thirty years earlier than the rest of the volume.

I must not conclude without acknowledging the valued help of Mr. C. Trice Martin of the Record Office, in making out some difficulties in the Latin charters, and of Mr. Charles Elton over the Notes to the "Articles;" Mr. Walter Rye has obligingly lent the stones for the fac-simile plates; and for myself, it is a pleasure to feel the readiness with which Lady Caroline Kerrison has most kindly and freely responded to my suggestions for the preparation of this volume.

LUCY TOULMIN SMITH.

Highgate, London.

Part 1.—Poetry,

INCLUDING A FEW PUZZLES AND SAYINGS.

SOME OLD PUZZLES AND SAYINGS.

Fos. 1, 1 v^o. (see fac-simile.)

The puzzle of the riddles consists in the words being spelt in a sort of cypher; every vowel is indicated by the letter which follows it in the alphabet; thus, what should be a is *written* b

o	"	"	p
e	"	"	f
i	"	"	k
w	"	"	x

The rubricator appears to have made a mistake in writing F instead of B (for A) as the initial of the two first lines.

Professor Skeat, who kindly helped me to decipher these queer-looking puzzles, has met with several of the same kind among Anglo-Saxon MSS. In the Sloane MS. 351, fo. 15 v^o. (fifteenth cent.) are some curious directions for writing in this style, but more complicated; they are printed in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 15. Other instances, are, doubtless, to be found scattered here and there in old family books like the present. They are also well known in French MSS. It will be observed that the final result of all the five puzzles is highly uncomplimentary to women. I give a solution in the right-hand column.

Fol. 1.

[Sayings.]

The hart lovyt pe wood, the hare lovyt pe hyll,
 The knyth lovyt hys sword, the carll lovyt hys byll;
 The fowlle lovyt hys folly, the wysseman lovyt hys skyll,
 The *properte* of a schrod qwen ys to have hyr wyll.

Fo. 1 v°.

[Different positions.⁴]

F hert hfrbprpwkth.	[A] hart harborowith.
F knyth hfrbprpwkth.	[A] knyth harborowith.
B dowke lpggkth.	A dowke loggith.
B Roo Bftdkth.	A Roo betdith.
B 3[e]man Bftdkth.	A 3eman betdith.
B hbrf in b forme syttyng.	A hare in a forme syttyng.
schuldryng of lenyng.	[shouldering or leaning.]
B cony syttyng.	A cony syttyng.

[Five puzzles.]

Take iij claterars.

B pkf.	A pie.
B kbk.	A iai (jay).
B xpmbn.	A woman.

Take iij lowrars.⁵

B bpf.	A ape.
B pwlf.	A owle.
B xpmbn.	A woman.

Take iij schrewys.⁶

B xbspf.	A waspe.
B xfskll.	A wesill.
B xpmbn.	A woman.

⁴ These sentences, as well as the Daily Rules (but not the previous four lines) are found also in the *Boke of St. Alban's*, among the household sayings and aphorisms with which Caxton filled up the blank pages at the end of Dame Juliana Berners' *Boke of Hunting*. (See Mr. Blades' preface, p. 21, to reprint of 1881, and signatures f 5, f 7 b.) But Caxton has, instead of the second and third lines above, "a bucke lodgith, an esquier lodgith;" lines 6 and 7 run, "an haare in her forme shuldering or leenyng," which gives better sense; "a wodcoke beekyng" is a ninth line wanting here.

⁵ Lowrar, one of frowning or lowering countenance.

⁶ A shrew, one of sharp or biting disposition.

Take iij angry.

B ffrkfr.

A frier.

B ffox.

A fox.

B xpmbn.

A woman.

Ther be iiij thyngs take gret betyng.

B stpkfksch.

A stockfisch.⁷

B mklstpn.

A milston.

B ffdkrbfd.

A fedirbed.

B xopmbn.

A wooman.

[Daily Rules.]⁸

Fyrst a-rysse erly,
 Serve thy god devly,
 And the war[l]d besyllly ;
 Do thy warke wyssely,
 3yfe thy almesse sekyrly,⁹
 Goe be the way sadly,
 And awnswer the pepff cvrtesly
 Goo to thy met happely,
 Syt ther at dyscre[t]ly.
 Of thy tong be not to lybraly,
 A-rysse fro thy met tempraly.
 Goo to thy sopper sadly,
 A-rysse fro sopper soburly.
 Goo to thy bed myrely,
 And lye ther in jocunly,

⁷ Stockfish, a kind of fish dried for keeping, especially in the north. It was so hard that it required much beating, and soaking in water, to render it eatable. (See *The Babees Book*, &c., ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, pp. 155, 214, and Index.) The stock-fishmonger was a regular trade in London. (See Riley's *Liber Albus*, translation, pp. 325, 328.)

⁸ These rules differ a little from Caxton's version. They are given here to complete the explanation of the fac-simile.

⁹ *Sekyrly*, surely.

And plesse and loffe thy wyffe dewly,
 And basse¹ hy onys or tewyis myrely.
 A! lord god, mercy, *qui verba cuncta creasti.*
 Helpe! kyng of cowmefort, *qui vitam semper amasti.*

Fol. 1. RULES FOR CONDUCT.

The poet Lydgate says "An olde proverbe, mesour is tresour," and he has left us two poems on the theme, one of which excellently descants on the various meanings of "measure," moderation among the rest.² The following poem, starting with the proverb, does not appear to be by Lydgate, and I have not found it elsewhere; perhaps some other East Anglian versifier thus inculcated patient virtue and good manners.

Man in merthe, hath³ meser in mynd,
 For meser ys treser whan merthe ys behynd,
 Better yt ys to suffer and fortyn to a-byd,
 Than hey for to clyme and sodenly for to slyde.

He that mekely suffer ys for to comend,
 Vertu of vertuys ys in sufferans,
 To soft hartes god doth hys grace send,
 And to all vertuys send he most sufficyans.

Man, be-war and be not rekeless.
 In speche of tonge, syttyng at the tabyll,
 For better yt is to be a pesse,
 Than for to trete of thynges pe wyche be not comendabyll.

Wat euer god send, groche not thy fare,
 Be glad and of good chere with vertuys elyquens,
 And wat so euer thou thyngke, pi langage do spare,
 For a-bethe all thyng ys nownyd pasyens.

¹ Basse, kiss.

² Halliwell's volume of *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, Percy Society, 1840, pp. 80, 208.

³ I.e. have.

Be mver⁴ and sad of vysage,
 Tyll men the requere kepe mekely pi sylens,
 Be war thow have no gret langage,
 Wher pu syttyst with pi souereyns in presens.

Yff thow hast lost thy good,
 Loke thow takyt with myld mood,
 And sowrow not to sore;
 Make joy, suffer and a-byd,
 For yt may so be-tyde
 That thow schall have mych more.

FORTUNE IN LIFE TOLD BY THE CASTING
 OF DICE.

I do not know any other version of these lines, save one in *Sloane MS.* 513, fo. 98 v^o. (the only English thing in a volume of Latin pieces) though they probably exist in other miscellaneous books. The first line is wanting in the *Brome MS.* and is supplied from the *Sloane*; this latter, on the other hand, is not perfect, being cut off at line 70 of the *Brome MS.* The numerals of each cast are set in figures in the margin of the *Sloane*, and are transferred here to the left side of the page; they are pictured in red like red dice, on the side of one page of the *Brome MS.* The curiosity of the poem, otherwise without merit, lies in the combination of two favourite pastimes of our fathers—nay, they are hardly extinct yet.

666 [pou pat hast y-cast tre syses here]

Fo. 2. Schall haue zowr dessyer y^e same zer,
 How zow stabyll and ware nowt,
 For ze shall haue after zowr thowt.

4

665 ze that haue to sysyttes and a synke,
 Closse zowr hart and on god thynke,
 And so be godes grace ze schall fulffyll
 That ze dessyer, with hart and wyll.

8

⁴ I.e. demure.

- 664 Synys and Catyr that 3e haue cast,
 Schowyt pat 3owr hart ys stedffast,
 Erre nowt but euer thynke wyll,
 And 3owr dessyer schall cumme in euery dyll. 12
- 663 That 3e haue cast synys and trey,
 May lytely ffallyn on 3owr pray,
 3e mvst cast another chance
 Yff 3e thynke 3owr selffe to a-vans. 16
- 662 Be synys and dewsse 3e may trost
 To haue 3owr wyll at the last,
 But I tell 3ow, with owt fayll,
 3e schall haue myche thowt and travell. 20
- 661 Synys and asse tell me sekerly
 That 3owr dessyer ys but folly,
 Schonge 3owr thowt, I cowncell the,
 Yffe 3e wyll not a schamyd be. 24
- 655 Be sysse and synkys⁵ that 3e haue cast
 3e schall haue swyche freynchepe at y^e last,
 Be wom 3e schall avanteyssyd be,
 And set in worchop and in gret degre. 28
- 664 Sysse synke and Catter byndyn the,
 Chonge 3owr thowt, for yt ys but a vanyte.
 Be thyng 3ow of the same thyn y^t ys mor abyll,
 For thys ys no thyng prophytabyll. 32
- 653 Fo. 2v.^o 3e that haue cast sysse-synk and thre,
 3our dessyer to purposse browt may be,
 But yf dessyer be to 3ow hygth,
 Kepe 3ow fro schame both day and nygth. 36
- 652 Sysse synke and dewsse ys 3our cast;
 3e dessyer, but be not agast,
 For yff 3e warke wysely in ded and thowt
 To 3our purposse, yt schall be rygth wyll browt. 40
- 651 3owr cast ys sysse synke and as;
 3e stond rygth in wonder casse,

⁵ Sloane, *quynze*.

- ze dessyer and dare not tell,
 God be *your* helpe and consell. 44
 644 ze that sysse and caterys⁶ haue in y^e deysse,
 Let be *your* thowtes, for they be nysse,
 zowr hart ys set in swyche a loue
 That ys no thyng for *your* be-houe. 48
 643 ze that hath cast sysse cater and trey,
 ze be set in rygth good wey,
 Bere zow wyll and be of good cownfort,
 For ze shall be lovyd and haue gret dyssort. 52
 642 Sysse cater and dwsse I tell zow tyte,
 That *your* love hath zow in dysspyte,
 With draw *your* hart and ryffe zow to pley,
 For no man can hold that wyll a-wey. 56
 641 He that hath cast cater, as, and sysse,
 ze be of wyt both ware and wysse,
 But be war of comberying of synne,
 Thyneke on the hyndyng or y^t ye be gynne. 60
 633 zowr cast wosse sysse and dobyll trey;
 Fortewne fall not to *your* pay,
 But yf ze wyll haue *your* wyll
 All that ys yll, let yt be styll. 64
 632 Fo. 3. ze that have sysse trey and dewes cast,
 Off a certyn thyng ze be agast,
 But loke ze be trew in *your* entencion,
 And ze schall haue *your* petyssyon. 68
 631 He that sys, trey, and as to hym takys,
 In hys werkes wysely he wakys,
 For he schall dessyer no thyng,
 That he nowt schall spede of hys askyng. 72
 (622)⁷ ze that haue sys, dewes, and too,
 ze be a ffolle, go were ze goo;
 ze coveyt of non lefful thyng,
 ze schall not spede of *your* askyng. 76

⁶ Sloane, *querins*.⁷ The figures in () are supplied by me.

- (621) ȝe y^t haue sysse, dewes, and on cast,
 The best ȝynd of ȝour thryft ys past,
 But ȝe may ȝow so well ber,
 That ȝour enmyes schall ȝow not der. 80
- (611) ȝe that haue sysse and aumbys as,
 ȝe haue set ȝour hert in swyche a plase
 Were ȝe dare neyther speke nor loke,
 But thowt ys fre, thus seyth y^e boke. 84
- (555) ȝe that haue cast her thre synkys,
 ȝe dare not sey all that ȝe thynkes,⁸
 But ȝowr dessyer ȝe schall not ffayll,
 All thow yt schall ȝow lytyll a-wall. 88
- (545) Synke, cater, synke, ȝe haue on the dysse;
 I cownsell ȝow be war and wysse,
 Trost non erdely thyng that may be,
 For the wor[l]d ys but a vanite. 92
- (530) Synke and trey was ȝowr schauns;
 God ys myty ȝow to a-wauns,
 Be trew and trost in Mary myld,
 And sche wyll ȝow fro schame schyld. 96

FRAGMENTS BY LYDGATE.

The three following stanzas are part of a poem by Lydgate which is found in several MSS., as Harl. 116, fo. 124, and Harl. 2251, fo. 173. These contain three or four more stanzas, on Fortitude and other virtues, the two last lines here headed *Fortitudo* are not however the same. The names of the first and third stanzas are reversed. The scribe was perhaps careless, and did not complete this copy, but the top of the next leaf shows that Lydgate's poems were still in mind; the same hand copied there six lines (incorrectly) from another of his short pieces, beginning—"The more I goo the ferther I am behynd," which is printed in the volume of Lydgate's

⁸ MS. has *kynkes*.

poems edited by Mr. J. O. Halliwell for the Percy Society, 1840, p. 74. See also Harl. 2251, fo. 38 v^o. and Add. 29,729, fo. 131. The final stanza on fo. 81 I have not been able to identify.

Prudencia.

Fo. 80 v^o. Thynges passyd Remembrans and wyll deuide,
 Thynges *present* consydris and wyll gonne,
 For thynges comyng prudently provide,
 Peyse materys or thow deme or dyscerne.
 Let rygth yn causys hold thy lantarne,
 By twyne frynd and foo stond zevyn and egall,
 And for no mede be nowt *percyall*.

Justicia.

Furst in thy Mesur loke ther be no lacke,
 Off thy weyghtys hold iustely y^e balaunce,
 Be trew in rekenyng and set no summe a-backe,
 And in thy wordes let be no variaunce.⁹
 Off cher be sad, demure of governaunce,
 Set folke at rest and [ap]pes all trobyll,
 Be war of flaterys and of tonges dobyll.

Temperancia.

By sapyens ay tempyre thy corage,
 Off lusty yre dout thy pacyens,
 Defer vengens tyll thy werth [wrath] aswage,
 Cheresh the good for their condycions.
 Puniche paciently the *transgrescions*
 Off men desrewlyd, redressyng ther errour,
 Mercy *preferyng* or thow do rygour.

Fortitudo.

Ye¹ lordes that desyreth to be honorabyll
 Cheresh your folke and hat extorcion.

⁹ Brome MS. has *lacke*, but *variaunce* is evidently right, as in the other MSS.

¹ MS. has *The*.

Fo. 81. I stond as styll as ony stone
 The grace of god yan he wyll send,
 All thyng may not cum a-none
 But wane god wyll yt may a mend.
Lux ys leyd a downe,
 And *veritas* ys but small,
Amor ys owt of towne
 And *caritas* ys gon with all.

THE CATECHISM OF ADRIAN AND EPOTYS.

This poem is not a romance or a legend, but a relic of the early educational method of teaching religion and philosophy. Instruction by means of question and answer was popular both in England and on the Continent from early times; and examples of such dialogues, embodying not only knowledge on the tenets of faith, the doctrines of religion and morals, but also scraps of metaphysics, ethics, and natural science, are found from the eighth century, if not earlier.

The *ſoca Monachorum*² is a set of questions and answers which M. Paul Meyer supposes to be as old as the sixth century (on account of certain biblical names and phrases quoted in it, which are only found in an ancient Latin version of the Bible, the so-called *Itala*, supposed to be older than the Vulgate); this really appears to be the prototype of our more modern *Adrian and Epotys*. Such a dialogue also is found among the works attributed to the Venerable Bede³ (died 735.) The celebrated Alcuin (sometimes called Albinus),

² Printed from an eighth century MS. in Paris Bib. Nat., 13,246, fol. 7, in *Romania*, i. 483 (1872), and analytically compared with the Schlettstadt and Arundel 351 MSS. of *Adrian and Epictetus*.

³ Works printed at Cologne, 1612, vol. iii., *Bede Collectanea et Flores*, pp. 479 b—487 a. This is reprinted in *Salomon and Saturn*, by J. Kemble, Ælfric Society, 1848, p. 322, a book which contains much early literature of the kind, though the author seems to have been unaware of its middle-age issue in *Adrian and Epotys*.

who died A.D. 804, among his educational works left one of these, which has been studied and compared by Dr. Wilmanns⁴ with the *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti*, an ancient dialogue, of unknown authorship, purporting to be held between the Emperor and the philosopher on subjects of natural and speculative science.⁵ In Old English (Anglo-Saxon) there also exist the Dialogues of Salomon and Saturn, in poetry and prose—the latter of which deals with the Creation, Adam, and the subjects arising out of Genesis. In editing these for the Ælfric Society, in 1848, Mr. Kemble also printed three other similar question-books or catechisms, one of which in Latin, of a later period (probably twelfth or thirteenth century), called *Adrian and Epictus*,⁶ considerably resembles in substance our Brome poem. The same thing appears also to have been translated into Welsh and Provençal.⁷ On the Continent other copies of this dialogue, dating from the ninth century, have been found and printed, with many interesting notes and comparisons of individual questions with those in other collections, by Dr. Wilmanns⁸ and Dr. Bethmann,⁹ with which should also be compared versions in Provençal, Spanish, and Latin, studied by Dr. Bartsch.¹

Although this dialogue has played its part in the literature of every country in Europe, and as M. Meyer says, “apparaît avec son caractère chrétien dès les premiers temps du moyen âge,”² it should be noted that the various forms it takes belong to two distinct families, which existed contemporaneously, viz., the one in which Christian history and doctrine appear, the other in which they are wholly absent; the latter being current long after the rise of the

⁴ *Disputatio Pippini cum Albino*, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, vol. xiv. (1869), p. 530.

⁵ The *Altercatio* or *Disputatio* was printed by F. Lindenbrog, Frankfurt, 1628, in a little volume. Another version may be found at the end of a folio volume, edited by S. Gelenius, Basle, 1522, entitled *Notitia utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis*, &c.

⁶ Page 212, from the *Arundel MS.* 351, fol. 39.

⁷ Kemble's *Salomon*, p. 216; Bartsch, *Denkmäler der Prov. Litteratur*, p. 306—310; *Bulletin de la Soc. des Anc. Textes Franc.* (1875), pp. 71—74.

⁸ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, vol. xv. p. 166; see also *Ib.*, vol. xiv. p. 546, and on the general subject E. Schröder, in the *Auszeiger*, band viii. p. 121, bound with vol. xxvi. of the *Zeitschrift*.

⁹ See Schlettstadt MSS. in *Serapeum* for 1845, p. 29.

¹ *Zur Räthsel Litteratur*, in *Germania* (Vienna, 1859) iv. 308.

² *Bulletin de la Soc. des Anc. Textes Fran.* (1875), p. 72.

former. Combined with these are also reminiscences of the beliefs found in the Eddas of the north.³

The form of question and answer gave full play to the close definition of the philosopher, the double and hidden meaning of the scholastic and the theologian, or the statement of old belief, whence the transition to the play of wit and words in riddles was easy. Consequently, in the frequent repetition or copying of these dialogues or catechisms, one, or two, or a group of questions which commended themselves might be inserted from another catechism or from a collection of what seem to us riddles. Riddles, proverbs, apophthegms, question-books, dialogues—all contained the popular wisdom, "part of that stock of traditional sayings which prevailed with living power among us from the tenth till the sixteenth century,"⁴ and among our French neighbours long survived in the prose form of the popular little book, *L'enfant sage à trois ans, etc.*

Thus it was, in course of time, that the Christian religious legend and ethics became grafted on to the philosophic dialogue, and it is probable that from a Latin original some English theological rhymers, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, drew his inspiration for the following poem. The poet must also have used other sources, as we may judge by the study of two portions of the poem. Lines 163—218 describe the substances of which Adam was made, and the effects of the preponderance of different materials on a man's character. This subject is found in many places; in the prose Old English *Salomon and Saturn* (ques. 8, 9, Kemble, p. 180); in a Latin and Old English ritual of the tenth century, a German poem of the twelfth century, and other instances quoted by J. Grimm;⁵ also in three French manuscripts—one a treatise, *De Adam et Eve feme*, Bib. Nat. Fr. 1553, fol. 286;⁶ another, Bib. Nat., 4207; the third, MS. A 454, at Rouen, fol. 250,⁷ also on the creation of Adam. These declare that Adam was formed of eight substances (clay, the sea, the sun, clouds, wind, stone, the Holy Spirit, &c.), varying with the writer, but resolving into the four elements. Perhaps a touch of Eddic doctrine here unconsciously found its way into the orthodox theology of the middle ages. For the second portion, lines 511—582: Why do men fast on

³ See Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, translation 1883, ii. pp. 564—569; as to Yggdrasil, Bartsch in *Germania*, iv. p. 312.

⁴ Kemble, *Salomon and Saturn*, p. 286.

⁵ *Teutonic Mythology*, Stallybrass's translation (1883), ii. p. 566.

⁶ Cited by Kemble, *Salomon and Saturn*, p. 194.

⁷ *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* (1883), p. 96.

Friday? we may turn for comparison to the same MS. of Rouen just named, fol. 251 v^o, which gives twelve reasons in answer; to a MS. of the thirteenth century in Paris (Bib. Nat. nouv. acq. fr. 1098, fol. 60);⁸ and a Russian essay on the subject by Prof. Wesselowsky.

From a comparison of the style of thought, and of the theological dicta of this poem, with those of similar passages in the *Cursor Mundi*, the conjecture may be hazarded that *Adrian and Epotys* was written about the same period, viz., the early part of the fourteenth century. The name of the old well-known *Altercatio Adriani et Epicteti* had been adopted, the philosopher's name became shortened to Epicte, and finally pronunciation brought it to Epotis, when the dialogue itself no longer bore a trace of its heathen descent.⁹

Seven copies¹ of *Adrian and Epotis* (or *Ipotis*) are known among English manuscripts; our Brome forms the eighth. It has not been hitherto printed in England, nor indeed thoroughly examined. Dr. C. Horstmann has printed two of the copies—that from the famous Vernon MS. and from the Cotton Caligula MS., giving various readings from some of the others.² He says of four of the MSS. (the two Cotton, Arundel, and Ashmole, 61) that they are all equally poor and equally removed from the Vernon. My comparison of the following copy with the two printed by him does not tend to confirm that judgment, but rather shows that, one original having been transcribed several times, succeeding transcribers added in a piece here or left out a piece there, or may be invented a new piece; and that really the Vernon and Cotton copies, though differing, are nearly upon a par in value. Such alterations, together with the changes following from

⁸ *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* (1883), p. 96.

⁹ Chaucer, in the thirtieth stanza of his *Rhyme of Sir Thopas*, mentions *Ipotis*:—

“Men speken of romances of pris
Of Hornchild, and of *Ipotis*,
Of Bevis and Sir Guy”—

but, as it has been suggested by Dr. Schroeder, as all the books he speaks of here are romances, except *Ipotis*, under which name no romance is known, it may be that the singer had the romance *Ipomydon* in his head, and for once made a slip of the pen. We get no other indication from him of what *Ipotis* was.

¹ Four at Oxford, viz., Vernon MS., fol. 296; Ashmol. 750; Ashmol. 61; Douce, 323, fol. 160. At the British Museum: (besides Add. 22283, an old copy of the Vernon MS.); Cotton Calig., A ii., fol. 79; Cott. Titus, A xxvi., fol. 163; Arundel, 140, fol. 1. The Douce and Titus copies are imperfect.

² *Altenglische Legenden, neue folge*, Heilbronn, 1881, pp. 341, 511.

difference of dialect and speech, may account for these varying versions. As the Vernon is probably the oldest, I have taken it as the basis of comparison, and have numbered the lines of the Brome poem to correspond with it. I have also compared it with the Cott. Calig., A ii (the best of the British Museum copies); and those lines in it which are found in the latter, but not in the Vernon, are numbered between (), to correspond to the Cotton, a note pointing out here and there where parts are peculiar to the Vernon only. There remains a residuum of lines (only twenty-two in all) which are new, *i.e.*, found in the Brome copy only: these are indicated by letters—*a*, *b*, &c. The whole thing, though following pretty closely the Vernon, and in the latter part the Cotton, is by no means identical in language or expression; only those variants are given, however, at the foot, which may serve to explain errors or difficulties of the Brome text. Inversion of lines is shown by the figures, exchange (if it may be so called) of lines, in a few cases, may be seen from the foot notes. A few lines are supplied from the Vernon or Cotton between [], where they fill up the sense of the Brome copy.

The substance of the poem is as follows:—A child who calls himself Epotys is brought before the Emperor Adrian in Rome. He answers the Emperor's questions (to which there is no preamble) as to Heaven, God, the Word, Trinity. He describes the seven heavens (ll. 52—87), the nine orders of angels (ll. 90—114), the week of creation (ll. 115—158), of what Adam was wrought (ll. 164—218), the sea (ll. 221—226), the hour when Adam lost Paradise (229—236 *f.*), the seven sins of Adam, in which, descanting upon gluttony, he leads to the whole story of the fall and the redemption (ll. 239—352). The Emperor is further told what are the five sins that lead man's soul to hell (ll. 359—408), the four forms of penance that may save him (ll. (387)—(396)), the four virtues that lead to bliss (ll. (398)—470), four deaths a man may die (ll. 418—428), the two sins that God will not forgive (ll. 431—456). He is instructed how a man shall bear himself so that the devil may not injure him for sin (ll. 471—480), and what three deeds will please God (ll. 484—508). The child then gives thirteen lengthy reasons why men fast on Friday (ll. 511—594), after which the Emperor solemnly conjures him to say who he is, whereupon he avows himself to be Jesus, and departs (ll. 595—608). The writer boldly says that St. John the Evangelist told this tale in Latin.

The poem, in bringing Hadrian and Epictetus, St. John and Christianity thus together, offers a curious example of the power of traditional names.

Fo. 5^a. **A**lle pat wyllle of wysdam lere,
 lystyn to me and ȝe xall here
 off a tale of holy wryth,—
 Seynthe John the holy postyll wetnes yt,— 4
 How yt be-fell yn grete Rowme,
 The chyffe cyty of crystyn-dome,
 A chyld was seynt throw hys mytys moste,
 Trow the vertu of the holy goste. 8
 The Emprere of Rome than
 Hys name was klepyd Adryan,
 Whan the chyld of grete onowre
 Was cume be-fore the Emprere, 12
 Down on knys the chyld hym sette,
 The Emprere wyll fayeren hym grete.
 The Emprere wyth myld chyre,
 Askyd the chyld fro wens he came, and were, 16
 The chyld answord "for soth I the plyte,
 ffro my fader³ I cume now ryth,
 ffro my fader that hey justyce,
 To teche them that be nowte wysse, 20
 And note fulfilled yn goddys lawe."
 Than seyde pe Emprere, note slawe,
 "Arte thou wysse wysdam to teche?"
 The chyld answord *with* mylde chyre,⁴ 24
 "He ys wysse that heuyn may wynne,
 And kepe hym owte of de[d]ly synne."
 The Emprere seyde *with* owtyne blame,
 "Tell me chyld, wat ys thy name?" 28
 "My name," he seyde, "ys Epotys,
 Mekyll I can of heuyn blysse."
 The Emprere seyde, "wat may heuyn be?"
 "Syr," he seyde, "yt ys goddes prevyde?" 32
 "Wat," he seyde, "ys god all myte?"
 The schyld answord a-non ryte,

³ *Vern. and Arundel versions have moder.*

⁴ "Speeche" in *Vern.*

"He ys wyth owte be-gynnyng,
 Fo. 5^b. And xall lestyne *with* owtyne enddyng." 36
 The Emprere seyde, "tell me the soth,
 Wat cume fyrste owte of hys mowth?"
 The chyld answerd sone a-non,
 "Ther-of spake the postyll John, 40
 In hys gospell all on sowne,⁵
In principio erat verbum,
 This was the fyrste begynnyng
 That ever spake owre heuyne kyng. 44
 At that worde was the sunne,
 [Fader] and the holy goste to-geder wornne;⁶
 iij personys yn Trenyte,
 Non of them may fro othyr be. 48
 Thys ys the myte full kyng, 48a
With owtyne hym ys no thyng." b
 The Emprere seyde woll zevyne,
 "Chyld, haste thow byn yn heuyne?
 How many heuy[n]s hath god all-myth?"
 "vij," seyde ye chyld, "I the plytte. 52
 The heyest heuyne that euer may be,
 Ys of the holy TrynYTE,
 Ther ys the fader and pe sunne,
 And the holy goste to-geder arnne⁷ 56
 iij personys yn on god-hode,
 As clarkys yn holy boke rede. 58
 The ioys may no man dyscry[v]e,⁸
 Lernd non on-lernd pat ys a-lyve.
 A-nother heuyne ys gostly ther,
 Off a lower de-gre, thow schall here,

⁵ "Al and sum," *Vern. and Cott.*

⁶ "Come," *Vern. and Cott.*; wornne may be an error for wonne.

⁷ "Wone," *Vern.*

⁸ Lines 61—64 resemble *Cott. Calig.* A ii., ll. 63—66. They form better sense of this passage on the second heaven than most other versions.

Tow ⁹ joyys may no man deme,	63
Tyll domys ¹ day thow he wyll fayne.	
The iij heuyn schynnyth as Crystall,	
Full of joyys and swettenesse all,	66
The joy may no tonge telle, ²	
Tyll domys day thow he woll smell.	
The iiij heuyn ys golde lyche,	
Full of presyus stonys ryche ;	70
Fo. 6 ^a . For innocentys that place is dyth,	
That euer ys day and neuer nyth.	
The v heuyn ys longe and brode,	
And full of goddes man-hode ;	74
Yff goddys man-hode noth were,	
All the ward ³ wore for-lore ;	
For the paysson of hys man-hoode,	
Heuyn blysse schall be owre mede.	78
The vj heuyn holy chyrch yt ys,	
Full of holy thyngys, i-wys,	
That of god redyn day and nyth,	
Off hys strenth and of hys myth.	82
The vij heuyn, seyth pe story,	
Ys paradyse, aftyr purcatory,	
Whan sowlys hau done ther penans,	
Ther schall they dwell with-owtyn dysstans.	86
Here be pe vij heuyns syre Empror, ⁴	
That hath god owre savyore."	a
Thane seyde the Empror, "I the plyte,	b
How many Ordrys byn of Angle bryth ? "	88

⁹ *Vern.* has *pulke*.

¹ *MS.* has *donys*.

² For ll. 67, 68, the *Vernon* has,—

"To mon and wommon pat place is diht
pat seruep god wip al heore miht."

³ *Ward*, world.

⁴ Lines 87, 88, follow the *Cott.* *MS.* : in the *Vernon* they are contracted to two.

The chyld answord and seyd a-3ene, "Nine Ordyrys, syre, there byne,	90
The fyrste ordyr ys jerubyn, The secund ordyr ys secheraphym, The iiij ^{de} ordyr ys tronys, The iiij ^{te} ordyr ys dominaciones,	94
The v ^{te} ordyr ys pryncipates, The vi ^{te} ordyr ys potestates, The vij ^{te} ordyr ys vyrtutes, The viii ^{te} angelica, i-wys.	98
The ix ordyr arn arcangelys, The ylke prynce hath hys party[s], Many thowsendys to hys baner, To seruyn hym both fer and nere.	102
The x ordyr schall mankynd ben, That xall fulfyll the place ageyn.	
Fo. 6 ^b . In heuyn be that ylke syde, That Lussyfer fell owte for hys pryde.	106
Ther schall man-hod byn <i>with</i> god all myth, Ben euer and that ys ryth, A-bothyn ⁵ all princys he schall be, Mytfull fader yn trenyte,	110
Of myche joy he can tell <i>With</i> owtyne ende that per may dwell, That schall hys owyn brodyr se, Mytfull fader yn trenyte."	114
⁶ The Emprere seyd, "chyld I pe prey, What made god on the fyrste day?" "God mad on the fyrste day, Many thynges hym to pay,	118
The Mvnday after, verement,	

⁵ *I.e.* above.

⁶ *Vernon* has two lines which are omitted here and in the *Cotton*; while our ll. 117, 118 represent three lines in the *Cotton* version, as to the creation on the first day, which are not in *Vernon*.

- God mad the ffurmament ;
 Sunne and mone to schyne bryth,
 And many sterrys ther be lyth. 122
 The Tvysday, I vndyr stond,
 God made bothe see and lond,
 Wellys full with watyr neysse,⁷
 To tempyr the erthe both hard and neysse ; 126
 Erbys he mad, both tre and gresse,
 And othyr thynges, as hys wyll wos.
 The Wedenysday mad god all-myth
 Fyssys yn flod and fowlys yn flyte, 130
 And bad them a-bowtyn wynd,
 Fore to helpyn all man-kynd.
 The Thursday god mad bestys fele,
 Many dyuerse be down and be dale, 134
 And geffe them erthe to ther fode,
 And had them turne to mannys good.
 On the Fryday god mad Adam,
 After hys chap⁸ he gaffe hym name ; 138
 Sythyn Eve he bad hym take,
 And make hyr on to hys make,
 Fo. 7^a. And mad hym man of mytys moste,
 And gaffe hym lyffe of the holy goste. 142
 A grete lord he gan hym make,
 All paradysshe he bad hym take,
 And mad hym lord that he had wrote.
 The Satyrday for-zatte he nowte, 146
 That ylke day he blyssyd with good wyll,
 All hys warkys lowd and stylly,
 Euery-chon yn ther perty,
 And bad them wax and mvltyplye. 150
 The Sunneday god hys reste toke,
 As we fyndyn yn holy boke,
 He bad and cummawndyd all man-kynd

⁷ "Fresche," *Vern. and Cott.*

⁸ *I.e.* shape.

- That restynd they schuld haue yn mynd. 154
 That day xuld no man warke,
 Bute bedyn ther bedys and goo to kyrke,
 And kepyn them fro dely synne,
 That he nowte fale ther ynne." 158
 The Emprere with wyrdys mylde,⁹
 Thus he gan askyn the chylde,
 Yff he cowde tellyn hym owte 163
 Off howe many thyngges Adam was wrotte?
 The chyld answord and seyd "vij,
 The wyche they byn I xall pe tellyn,
 Slyppe of pe erthe wos on off thoo,
 Watyr of the see god toke ther-too, 168
 Off the sunne and of the wynde,
 And of the clowddes as yn wrytyng I fynd.
 Off the stonys be the see coste,
 And also of the holy goste. 172
 Off the erth ys manys fleysse,
 And of the watyr ys blode neysse,
 Off the sunne ys hys harte and his bowellys,
 Hys mekenes and hys good thewys ; 176
 Fo. 7^b. Off the wynd ys mannys brethe,
 And of the clowdys hys wyttys bothe,
 Off the ston ys mannys bonne,
 And of the holy goste ys hys sowlle than. 180
 Loo ! syre Emprere Adryan !
 Off theys thyngges ben made Adam.
 Euery man yn thys ward¹ here
 ys made of dyvers maner ; 184
 How-so haue of the erth moste,
 He xall be heuy, wyll thow woste,
 Heuy yn thowth and yke yn dede,

⁹ Lines 159 and 160 of *Vernon* are omitted here, and the two following are altered.

¹ *I.e.*, world.

And othyr thyngges as I rede.	188
How-so haue moste of the see,	
Internall ² he schall be,	
And myche covetynge love and lede,	
And that schall faylyne them at <i>per</i> moste nede.	192
Yt faryt be all thys wardly good,	
As be and ebbe and be a flood ;	194
[Now hit is, nou hit nis—	
penk no mon peron, i-wis.] ³	196
How so hath of pe wynd moste myth,	201
Be grete resun xall be lyth,	
Fekyll of herte and yke of thowth,	
And speke mych yt helppe nowth.	204
How-so haue of the clowddys foysun,	197
He schall be wysse be resun,	
And be ware yn word and dede,	
And yn othyr thyngges, as I rede.	200
How-so hath of the sunne pleynty	205
Hote and hasty he schall be,	
And a man full of myth,	
And be resun he schall be lyth.	208
How-so be of the ston be moste wroth,	
He schall be stedfaste yn word and thowth,	
And to termyn ⁴ troste and trew,	
Fo. 8 ^a . And be resun pale of hewe.	212
How-so have moste of the holy goste,	
He schall haue yn hys herte moste	
Good thowtes, good worddes, and good dede,	
The poore to cloth and to fede,	216
And love wyll god and holy chyrch,	

² "Leof to trauallye," *Vernon* ; "Euer in trauel," *Cotton*. The Brome copyist evidently made a mistake.

³ Supplied from *Vernon*. Lines 193—196 are wanting in *Cotton*.

⁴ And to termyn]. *Vernon* has "In his herte;" *Cotton*, "And in trauallye."

- And othyr penans for to warke."
 The Emprere seyde, "thys may wyll be,
 But on thyng I prey the, 220
 Thow speke lenger of the see.
 Tell me chyld, wat that may be ? "
 The chyld seyde, with owte lesyng,
 "A wyll wyldyn of wey,⁵ 224
 So thow mytys seyll per-ynne,
 That pou schuldyst neuer lond wyne."⁶
 The Emprere seyde with-owtyn fayll,
 "Ther-yn I haue grete mervell, 228
 What tyme ded Adam a-mysse,
 That he loste so paradysse ? "
 The chylde seyde, "at pe myd-mowrow tyde,
 And be myd-day he loste hys pryde. 232
 Ane angell droffe hym yn to desert,
 With a bryth brening sward ;
 Heuyr he ys in sorowe and woo 236
 Wyll he leue⁷ euer moo ; 235
 And whan he deyed to helle he nam,⁸ a
 And all that of hym were cumme, b
 So wos he yn heve for-lorne, c
 Tyll that goddys sune wos borne, d
 And sufferyd vp-on the rode payssoyne, e
 And browte vs owte of theppresun." f
 "A-lasse !" seyde the Emprere, "I hath grete dole, 237
 That Adam was swych a fole !
 How many synnys dede Adam
 Fo. 8^b. For causse he to helle name ? " 240
 The chyld seyde, "vij thoo ;
 Sacrylege wos on of thoo,
 Fornycacyun wos on of thes,

⁵ "A wyldde wey in wending."—*Vernon and Cotton.*

⁶ The MS. has "fynde." ⁷ "Him and his offspring," *Vernon and Cotton.*

⁸ These six lines, a—f, are not in either *Vernon* or *Cotton*.

Averycie and covetyse,	244
Glotteny and pryd, I telle the,	
Thes vij synnys ded he.	
In pryd he synned yll	
Whan he wrote after hys wyll,	248
A not after the oste ⁹ of god,	
He hylde efter hys owe wyll leyd.	
In sacrylege he synned sore.	
Whan he wrotte after hys owe lore,	252
And ffyllyd hys owyn talent,	
To don the fyndys cummawment.	254
Mannys sleere he was I know,	267
Whan he hys owyne sowle slew,	268
And all that euer of hym camme,	270
The fynd with hym to helle name.	269
Thyffe he was I know be-fore god, ¹	263
When he stail that hym was fore-bede.	264
Sertenly, as I the seye,	265
He was wordy for to dey. ¹	266
Fornycacyun he had yn mynd,	255
Whan he be-levyd vp-on the fynd,	
And hylde that goddes lore was fals.	
In auryce he synnyd all-so, ²	258
Whan that he covetyd more	
Thane he had nedyd be-fore,	
Qwan ³ paradyce was at hys wyll ;	
No wondyr yt was thow god leked yt yll.	262
In glotteny he synnyd wylle,	271
Whan he put hym selffe yn swych yll, ⁴	
Fo. 9 ^a . Off the trere the appyll he toke,	
That god fore-bode hym and hys make.	274

⁹ "Heste" in *Vernon* and *Cotton*.

¹⁻¹ These four lines follow the *Cotton* (259—263)

² "Als," *Vernon*.

³ "He hedde," *Vernon*.

⁴ "Perile," *Vernon* and *Cotton*.

Slawe he ded fyrst of all
 Whan that he was yn synne fall,
 He had no grace fore to sesse ;
 Jesus cum to him yn that wysse, 278
 And seyde, 'Adam, wat dost thou know ?'
 He answeyde and seyde a-zen *with* mowth,
 'Lord I here the spekyne, I the plytte,
 But I haue of the no syte.' 282
 Owre lord azeyn to Adam seyde,
 'Man, wy dedyst thou that dede ?'
 Adam answeyde *with* wyrdes hylle,
 'The woman that thou toke me tulle, 286
 Sche made me to don that dede.'
 Owre lord than to Eue zyde,
 'Woman wy worttyste pou that wylle ?'
 'The eddyr, lord, gan me gylle.' 290
 Owre lord to the eddyr gan goo,
 'Fynd, wy wrottyst thou that woo ?'
 The fynde answeyde *with* maystry,
 'For I haue to hym ynvye. 294
 For that he schuld won yn blysse,
 That I for pryde gan mysse.'
 Owre lord seyde to Adam,
 'For thy gylte *pat* pou haste don, pou synfull man, 298
 Thou schalte take thy mete *with* swynke & swette,
 And be yn penawns cold and hotte. 300
 In peyn and travell sore,⁵ *a*
 Wyll thou levyst euer more.' *b*
 To Eue seyde owre heuyn kyng, 301
 'Woman for thy wekyd tisyng,
 Thou schalte byn vndyr mannys wyll,
 In mekyll drede, woo, and yll; 304
 And bere thy frwte *with* gronyng and care,
 Fo.9^b. Thou and thyn of-sprynggyn euer more.'

⁵ Lines 300, *a*, and *b*, not in *Vernon* or *Cotton*.

Owre lord seyde to satthan,
 'In forme of wornge thow temppyst man, 308
 Vp-on thy wombe [thow] schull glyde,
 All that thow syst yn euery syde,
 Of the seyng be sore a-ferd.
 Whan thow comyst yn to y^e medyll zard, 312
 A vyrgyn schall be borne be-lyve,
 That thy pore schall down drywe.'
 Thus Adam levyd yn erthe here,
 fful ix hundyrd zere, 316
 And xv,⁶ as I the telle,
 And whan he deyde he⁷ zede to helle.
 Hys sowle yn helle wos ther 320
 iiij thowsend vj hundred and iiij yere. { 319
 Than the kyng of heuyn, { 321
 322
 Kyng^e he wos of mytys moste,
 He sent down the holy goste, 324
 That toke fleysse and blood of mayd Mary,
 With-owtyne wem of hyr body.
 xxx^{ti} wyntyr and iiij zere,
 Goddys sunne zede in erth here, 328
 xl dayes for vs he ded faste;
 The jvys toke hym at the laste,
 And ded hym vp on the rode,
 He suffyrd fore owre good. 332
 Hys sowle wente to helle—
 The fowle fyndys for to felle,
 And toke owte Adam and Eue,
 And other more that were hem leve. 336
 Moyses, Dauid, and Abraham,
 And all thoo with hym name,
 And browte them yn to paradyce,
 Ther joy and merth euer more ys. 340

⁶ "Two and pritti," not fifteen, in both *Cotton* and *Vernon*.

⁷ MS. has "ze."

And sythyn aftyr hys vp-rysynge,
 Fo.10^a. He steyed to heuyn ther he ys kyng; ;
 On hys faderes ryth hond he sette hym than,
 And thus he cam stedfast god and man. 344
 That ylke god omnipotente
 Schall come at the day of jugement,
 To deme vs all aftyr owre mysse-dede,
 He ys not wys that hym nowte drede. 348
 The good *with* the joy, the wykyd *with* pe peyn,
 The joy nor the peyn may no man dem
 That he xall haue for hys servyce,
 That *serue* god yn all wysse." 352
 The Emprere seyde, "be heuyne kyng,
 Chyld, that ys a fayerer doynge,
 [And also pis I leue wel ⁸
 pat pis is sop, eueridel.]
 But telle me, chyld, yf thou can, 357
 Wer-*with* the fynd be-gylle moste man ?
 How many synnys, thou me telle,
 Bryngyn mannys sowll to helle ?"
 The chyld seyde, "synnys v, 361
 That a-monge men be full ryve.
 Wykkyd thowth yn mannys harte,
 Wyll that he ys heylle and swarte,⁹ 364
 To mannys-slawth and othere shame,¹
 That euery man ther-fore hau blame ; 366
 But yf he schryve hym and make hym clere, (361)
 He goth ellys to helle fere.² (362)
 Pryde ys the tothere, 367
 Gloteny ys y^e iij^de brodere,

⁸ Lines 355, 356 supplied from *Vernon*, omitted in *Cotton*.

⁹ *Quarte* = able, hearty, was probably the original word, not *swarte*.

¹ MS. has *synye*, *Vernon* shame. The lines 363—(362) differ from the corresponding lines in *Vernon* and *Cotton*, and give better sense than either of them.

² Ll. (361) and (362) are not found in *Vernon*.

Lechery ys on of the v,³
 On of the worste a-bothyn heven or all.⁴ 370
 Covetyse ys pe v. as I the telle;
 Thyse synnys bryng man most to helle.
 Seynthe Powle wettenes yn hys story
 The peyn for Covetyse in porcatory, 374
 [Bi hem-selven hit is diht,]⁵
 A wylle⁶ of bras bernyng bryth,
 Fo.10^b. Full of hokys a-bothyn and vndyr,
 And whan yt goth yt rowttyth as tonder. 378
 As full of sowlys as yt may hangyn,
 As eche may be other ryngyn. 380
 [A wylde fyr among hem poth renne,
 All pat hyt towchyt hyt doth brenne.]⁷
 Wy ys covetyse lekyd to a wylle, (377)
 I schall the tellyn fayer and wyll;
 Men that may wynne pat prysse
 gevyn hem all to covetyce, (380)
 3a, mekyll of hys lyffe he wyll yt not blynne,
 At the laste he deyyd ther-ynne;
 Sortynly, as I the telle,
 With-owtyn end he goth to helle. (384)
 For covetyce hath end no dylle, 381
 It ys lekyd to a wylle.
 Falsse Pryd that ys so bolde
 Ys wors be an hundryd folde, 384
 For Angellys that wern yn heuyn bryth,
 So clere schynnyng and full of lyth;
 For pryde wrethe god can take,
 That many arn fynndes now blake 388
 And fellyn owte of heuynne, as I pe telle,

³ of the v]. pe feorpe, *Vernon* and *Cotton*.

⁴ Heuen or all]. eorpe, *Vernon* and *Cotton*.

⁵ Supplied from *Vernon*. ⁶ wylle, i.e. wheel.

⁷ These two lines in *Cotton* only. The next eight lines are not in *Vernon*.

In to the netherest pytte of helle.	
Summe arn yn erthe amo[n]ge man-kynd,	
That bryng man-kynd yn de[d]ly synne.	392
There-for schryve the of pryde	
Or than wormys hau etyn pi syde,	
And thy body to strenkyt pe grownd,	
And thy sowll yn woo ys bownd.	396
Sore schall per-for thy sowlle smerte,	
That euer thw wor prowde of herte.	398
Pryde ys most synnyg, I the plyte,	a ⁸
That worth god most full of myth ;	b
Lecheri thynkyth no lesse pat yt ys	c
Fo.11 ^a . So mercy nor so swytte, i-wys,	d
Woo yn man wykyd as I the telle,	e
Drawyt mannys sowle to helle.	f
In holy wrytte yt ys woste,	g
That lechery ys the develys neste ;	h
Kepe zow all fro that synne,	i
That non of zow falle there ynne.	j
Gluteny I wyll dyscry[v]e,	399
That a-mong mankynd ys full ryve,	
The fynd take men with[in]	
And make them drownke with alle and wyne. ⁹	402
He comyth and swere as he wer wode,	
Be goddes herte and be hys blyssed blode,	
And on byddyn hys payssoyne,	
That many on hath of hys malyssyne.	406
But yf he freyn hym of gluteny,	
In helle xall byn hys sowle foly.” ¹	408

⁸ These lines, a—j, are not in either *Vernon* or *Cotton*.

⁹ In *Vernon* these two lines stand :—

“ The fend takep of men wrechis fale,
Whon heo bep dronken of wyn and ale.”

¹ Six lines which follow here in *Vernon*, are omitted in both *Cotton* and *Brome* MSS. From this point, many of the lines follow the *Cotton* version more closely than the *Vernon*, some parts not being found in the latter at all. The numbers between () indicate correspondence with the *Cotton* lines.

- "Alas!" seyð the Emprore, "pis an hard chans, (387)
 Wat lekyd a man to don penawns.
 Azen Jesus owre Savyore ? "
 The chyld answeyrd, " thynges iiij; (390)
 Slawth ys l, schame ys a-nodyr,
 And wanne-hope ys the iij brothere,
 The iiij ys wretyn, with-owtyne faylle,
 That he ys god and morecyall.² (394)
 He wyll on synfull take no wreche,
 Yffe schyrftē of mowth wyll be hys leche."
 The Emprore seyð, "sythyn thys ys,
 What bryng a man moste to blysse ? " (398)
 The chyld answerd and seyð yt, 461
 Good word, good dede, and good thowth. 462
 Wos *per* neuer eyll dede wrowth, (401)
 But at the begynnyge yt wos eyll thowth, 402
 Wos ther neuer no good thyng,
 Fo.11^b. But that god [thowth] wos at the begynnyng. (404)
 How-so haue with hym good speche,³ 463
 And hys sunne wyll on hym hau pete, (406)
 And may speke⁴ or he wynd,
 Off hys foo and of⁵ hys frynd. 466
 Good dedes arn myche of myth,
 On-to god full of heuyne lyth. (410)
 A man may with good dede,
 Wynne heuyne to hys mede." 470
 The Emprore seyð, " thys wyll I leve ; 415
 Good chyld, takyt to no gryffe, (414)
 Telle me now, yf thow can,
 How many dethys may dey man ? " 418
 The chyld seyð, " on dethys iij,
 I xall the telle wych thoo be ;

² Cotton, "mercy[a]bull."

³ MS. has *spede*.

⁴ "And may speke": "Wyth good speche he may." Cotton.

⁵ And of]: make, Cotton.

The j ys bodyly deth here
 That he ys gretely strong yn fere, 422
 That ys yn many mannys body *with-ynne*,
 Or lyffe and sowle may parte on tweyne.
 The todyr detth ys detth of schame,
 Yffe he dey yn dette or wekkyd fame. 426
 The thred deth, so seyth the clarkys,
 Yffe he hath no good warkys."
 Than seyde the Emprere,
 "Telle me chyld, *paramore*, 430
 How many synnys a-zenes god on-schrevyn
 Thow that schall not ⁶ be for-gevyn?"
 The chyld seyde, "synnys ij,
 Mysse-beleve ys on of thoo, 434
 Many a man fore no resun 435
 Wyll be-levyn of the coronacionn,⁷ (434)
 That god toke fleysse of mayd Mary, (435)
With-owtyn weme of hyr body,
 Nor that he deyed on pe rode tre. } 445
 How wyll no be-leve pat yt so be, } (437)
 Fo.12^a. And yn to heuyn he steyynd,
 But yf he leve thys yn all thyng, (438)
 Sertenly, as I the telle,
With owtynd end he goth to helle.
 And wanhope ys the todyr brodyr synne,
 Whan man ys fule depe there ynne, (442)
 And doth euer ylle
 And neuer not wylle,
 Tyll he hath azen god so mych gylte, (443)
 The fynd yn wanhope sone hym spylte, 452
 That he wold no mercy crave,
 For he wene non to haue. (446)
 For that wan-hope as we fynd
 He goth to hell *with-owtyne* end." 456

⁶ MS. has *now*.⁷ "Yncarnacyone," *Cotton*.

- The Emprere seyð, "Syn pat yt ys so, 471
 That synne warke man so myche woo,
 Wer *with* schall a man hym bere
 That the fynd schall hym not dere?" 474
 The schyld seyð, "*with* devocyun,
 Thynke on goddes paysson.⁸ 476 (454)
 Whan cryst knelyd on hys holy knesse *and* fete,
 For drede of deth hys body gan swete,
 Whan he stod bowndyn to a pyllere strong,
 And betyn was *with* schurges long, (458)
 That crystes body ther yt stode
 Was couertyd yn hys owe blode.
 Whan he was *with* thronnys kyne,
 The wonddes yn hys hed were sene. (462)
 And whan he bare the crosse to Caluery,
 And sythyn there on he gan deye,
 Thynke on hys wonddes smerte, 477
 And haue hys payssoyñ yn pi herte. (466)
 Ther-*with* may euery man be ware,
 That the fynd schall hym not dere." 480
- Fo.12^b. The Emprere seyð, "thys leve I wylle,⁹
 That yt ys sothe euery delle.
 3yt telle me chyld, yf pou cane,
 What ded paye mane to god thane?" 484
 The schyld than seyð, "dedys iij,
 I xall the tell wych they be,
 Yffe there be ony man, of schamys,¹
 That ledyth hys body yn penans, 488
 And doth ageyn the fyndes levynges,
 And kepe hys body fro fowle lekynges,

⁸ Line 436 of *Vernon*, = l. (434) above, ends with "godes passioun," hence perhaps the confusion of the scribe among the lines.

⁹ Wylle = well.

¹ Evidently *schans* = chance, is intended.

God ys payed *with* that fore on of ye iij,²
 He schall hau heuyn fore hys *servyse*. 492
 And a-nodyr thyng pay god yn herte,—
 A man be grete yn poverte,
 And take hys poverte meke and styлле,
 And pe pore to helpyn be of good wyлле, 496
 And gladly helpyn and socore,
 Hys hevyn crysteyn po pat be pore,
 Yffe he may helpyn non more,
 But yf hys poverte lessyt³ sore, 500
 He schall haue for hys good wyll,
 At his partyng that ys so schyll.
 The iij thyng^e payed god mych,
 Yffe a man be yn erthe rech, 504
 And be cume of grete kynne,
 For-sake reches and werdly wynne,
 And zeffe hym selfe to poverte,—
 Ther-for yn heuyn schall he be.” 508
 Than seyde the Emprere
 “Telle me chyld, *paramore*,
 Qwy faste men the Fryday
 More pan pei don ony odyr day?” 512
 The chylde answerd and seyde aȝen,
 “xiij skyllys ther-fore sothe byn ;
 Fo.13^a. The fyrste resun tellyn I can,
 On a fryday god mad man, 516
 In the vale of Ebr[o]n after hys grace
 He schap man after hys owe face.
 The secun[d]⁴ resun thow may leue,⁵
 On a Fryday Adam & Eue 520
 They loste *paradyce*, as I the tell,
 They wer damnyd yn to hell.
 The iij^{de} telle I schall,

² Fore—iij]: *emprise*, *Vernon and Cotton*.

³ “But here pouerte rewe,” *Cotton*. *Vernon* has the same sense.

⁴ MS. has *seeū*.

⁵ MS. has *here*.

On a Fryday Kayn slew Abelle.	524
The forte resun ⁶ for-soth, I the plyte,	
That wos slayn be-fore god all myth,	526
{ Kayme for hys wykyd tysynge, ⁷	(515)
{ He had the cors of owre kyng.	(516)
The iiij resun ys full swete,	527
Whan Gabryell owre lady gan grete,	
On a Fryday with myld mode,	
Goddess sunn toke fleysse and blood	530
Off the mayde Mayry,	
With-owtyn wem of hyre body.	
The fyfte resun, I telle pe be-forn,	
On a fryday goddess sun wos born	534
{ Off the clene [holy] vyrgyn, ⁷	(525)
{ To byen mannys sowle owte of peyn.	(526)
The vj resun ys fayere," the chyld seyð, ⁸	535
"Whan Jesus cryst wos circumcysyd,	
{ On a Fryday he gan blede ⁷	(529)
{ For the gylte of owre mysse-dede,	
{ And for the synne of Adam and Eue,	
{ The blood wos bled fore owre mysse be-leve.	(532)
The vij resun telle I can,	537
That seyn Stevyn, that good man,	
On a Fryday wos stonyd to dede,	540
Throw the fals ⁹ Arowdys rede.	539
Fo.13 ^b . The viii ^{te} resun wyll I zow telle,	
Yffe ze wyll a wylle dwelle ;	
On a fryday seyn John the Baptyste,	
Wos hedyd for the love of cryste.	544
[In pe heruest after pe Assumpcion	
pat is i-cleped pe Decollacion.] ¹	546

⁶ Forte resun] : "furste martir," *Vernon and Cotton*.

⁷ These four couplets are in the *Cotton*, not in the *Vernon*.

⁸ The chyld seyð] : "emprise," *Vernon and Cotton*.

⁹ M.S. *flus*.

¹ Supplied from *Vernon and Cotton*.

The ix resun ys full good,	
That goddes sun deyed on the rode.	548
{ On a fryday, as I the telle, ²	(545)
{ He browte mannys sowle owte of helle.	(546)
Thys ys the x resun,	551
Off owre ladys assumeyun,	
On a fryday sche zylde pe goste	
To god that sche lovyd all moste.	554
In heuyn nowe that vyrgyn ys,	
With body and sowle all holle, i-wys ;	
Ther he ys kyng and sche ys qwene,	
Blyssyd motte that tyme byne.	558
The xi resun ys full trew,	
That the postyll seynt Andrew	
On a Fryday was don on cros,	
To god he klepyd with myld voys,	562
And seyde ' fadyr yn trynyte,	
My sowle I be-qwethe to the.'	
The xij resun ys myld of mode,	
That seynt Ellynge fond pe rode	566
Vpon a Fryday at Calvery,	
The rode that cryst ded on dey ;	
Ther was the holy cros fownd,	
Dowyn depe vndyr grownd,	570
{ And borne was yn to the syty, ³	(563)
{ With merthys and with solemty.	(564)
The xiiij resun ys verament,	571
That [Crist] schall cume at the day of jugement, ⁴	
Fo.14 ^a . On a Fryday with dolful mode,	(567)
With handes and syd all on bloode ;—	(568)
Haue the Fryday euer yn mynd.	579
The[se] xiiij resun wrytyn I fynd.	580

² The two lines replace two very different lines in *Vernon*.

³ This couplet not in *Vernon*.

⁴ Six lines here in *Vernon* are omitted in *Cotton* and *Brome*.

That the Fryday ys day of chans,
 Fastys⁵ to fast and to don penans.
 The satyrday aftyr sekyrly,
 For the love of owre lady, 584
 Ther we wern yn balys bownd,
 Sche browte vs owte of helle grownd.
 Sche ys full of mercy
 To all that to hyre klepyne or cry, 588
 [To wasche and to make clene
 Alle pat euere in synne bene.]⁶ 590
 A good sterre klepyd sche ys,
 The beste wey vs to wysse;
 Off hyr spranke a fayre flowere, (583)
 Jesus cryste, owre savyore, (584)
 Blyssyd mot they all be 593
 That seruyn that mayd *with* hert fre." 594
 The Emprere *with* grete sterne,
 To the chyld he sey full gayrne,
 "Chyld," he seyde, "I cungere the,
 In the vertu of the Trynyte, 598
 And yn the paysson of cryste,
 And yn hys deth and yn hys vp-ryste,
 T[h]at thow me the soth sey
 Or than thow wynd a-wey. 602
 What thow arte and fro wentes pou cam?"⁷
 The chyld answerd sone a-non,
 "I ame he that the wroth,
 And on the rode the dere bowte," 606
 [The childe wente to heuene po
 To the stude pat he com fro.]⁸

⁵ Fastys]: Best, *Vernon* and *Cotton*.

⁶ Supplied from *Vernon* and *Cotton*.

⁷ *Vernon* and *Cotton* have the question differently: "Whepur art pou a wikked angel or a good?"

⁸ Supplied from *Vernon*; also in *Cotton*.

The Emprore knelyd down on the grownd,
 And thankyd god that stownd, 610
 Fo.14^b. And he be-cum a good man as we rede, (603)
 In bedys bedyngē and almesse dede;
 And seruyd god yn eche wysse, (605)
 And leuyd and deyed yn hys servyce. 612
 Seynt John the evangelyste, 613
 That 3yd yn erth with cryste,
 Thys tale he tolde yn latyn,
 In holy wryth yn parchemyne; 616
 He bad and commawndyd all man-kynd,
 The payssoyñ of cryste pei schuld haue yn mynd.
 Thus 3endyth the talkyng, 619
 God 3yffe vs all hys blyssyng.⁹ finis.

③

PLAY OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.

Five English plays on the subject of Abraham's sacrifice are known, the Brome MS. gives a sixth, and no two are alike.¹ Each of the four great collections of plays, the Chester, York, Towneley, and Coventry, includes it; one is also found in a separate form at

⁹ *Vernon* ends thus:—

pus endep pis spellyng
 Of Jhesu, vre heuene kyng
 God graunt vs alle his swete blessing
 Schrift and hosel, and good endyng. Amen.

Cotton has but two lines after l. (606) 612, viz.:—

God 3eue grace yt so mote be
 Sayth all amen for charyte.

The total of lines in this *Brome* version amounts to 660. The *Vernon* contains 622, the *Cotton. Calig. A II.* 608 lines.

¹ Besides these, Arthur Golding translated one from the French of Theodore Beza, in 1575, (a copy is in the Bodleian Library). See *Mistère du Viel Testament*, pub. par Baron J. de Rothschild (Soc. des Anciens Textes Franc. 1879), vol. ii. p. xviii.

Trinity College, Dublin. In the lists of plays performed at Beverley and Newcastle, too, this subject has a place; and there is little doubt that it was a favourite piece, both on account of its human and pathetic interest, and its capabilities of conveying instruction, either of the mystic-typical kind familiar to the early centuries, or of a directly religious and moral nature. When complete in itself, as in the York or Dublin MSS., the play may in some instances have been performed separately, independently of the great cycle of which it formed a part; the fact that it is sometimes found in detached manuscripts would seem to indicate this. Even at Dublin, however, we know from the city records that the play of "Abraham and Isaac, with their offering and altar," was performed by the weavers' company as one of the Corpus Christi plays.² I have found nothing to show that the play in the Brome MS. belonged to such a cycle in any town in East Anglia (traces exist of performances of religious plays at Wymondham, Manningtree, and Cambridge, and probably may be found in other places); but though it did, its separate preservation thus, copied among a number of other poems, is a proof that it was held in much estimation. The poet allowed himself space as though for a distinct play; it is nearly one hundred lines longer than the Dublin, and eighty-six lines longer than the York, the longest of the other Abraham plays. And that it may have been performed as an independent piece is confirmed by the analogy of the French *Sacrifice d'Abraham* out of the collection *Le Mystère du Viel Testament*, which M. Rothschild says "paraît avoir été plus d'une fois représenté comme une mystère distinct."³

The performers to whom the play of *Abraham and Isaac* was allotted in various towns did not always belong to the same trade; in Newcastle-upon-Tyne the slaters produced it;⁴ in Beverley the

² *History of Dublin*, by Walter Harris, London, 1766, p. 148.

³ Vol. ii. pp. 1-3.

⁴ Though the Newcastle play has not been preserved, the following account of expenses incurred in performing it in A.D. 1568, was extant in 1789 in the book of the Slaters' Company:—

	s.	d.
"The plaers for thear dennares	3	0
for wyne	0	8
for the rede clothe	2	0
for the care	0	20
for four stoopes	0	6
for dreanke	0	6
for bearers of the care and baneres	0	18

bowyers and fletchers; in Dublin, as we have seen, the weavers; in York, the parchminers and bookbinders; in Chester, the barbers and wax-chaundlers; for Coventry and Wakefield (Townley mysteries) the performers are not recorded.

The play now printed from the Brome MS. is superior to other versions⁴ in touches of child-nature, and the varied play of feeling skilfully shown—the dear coquetting between the love of his child and the committal of the deed by the obedient but agonised father. The child begging his father not to kill him, and his fear of the sword, even after all danger is over (lines 168, 180, 378-9), are touched in with a life not found elsewhere. The thought of the mother (though Sara herself is not brought in) breaks out in the most natural and affecting manner (lines 175, 205, 254—261, 372); and the joyful rebound of emotion after the painful strain between duty and affection, expressing itself in the kisses of Abraham and the apostrophes of Isaac to the “gentle sheep,” must have warmly appealed to the hearts of the audience. Finally, the lesson of faith for “learned and lewed” and “the wisest of us all” is taught by the “Doctor” in the simplest manner, without reference to types or Christianity.

With regard to the versification of the play the reader will observe that it is irregular, in several places the lines run in clear stanzas of five lines, rhyming a b a b; in others they appear to be in stanzas of eight lines, rhyming alternately, with a frequent short line or

in drencke 3d. to theme that bare the care, and		
1d. to the plaeres in drencke, and 2d. the		
horse mete	0	6
for the pyper	0	8
for rosemare	0	2
for detten of the swearde	0	2
for charcole 2d., for the detten of the croones .	0	2
Bertram Sadler for plaers whan they came home		
from the playe in mete and drenk had . . .	0	6”

(*History of Newcastle*, by John Brand, 1879, vol. ii. p. 370). We have here a car, on which was perhaps carried the altar for sacrifice, as the bearers are mentioned; banners preceded it, as was usual at such performances. Red cloth, a sword, and crowns are the other properties. The players and probably the piper also seem to have been well provided with meat, drink, and wine.

⁴ See for a more detailed comparison of the various English plays of *Abraham and Isaac* with the Brome version, *Anglia*, vol. vii. part 3. (Halle, 1884).

tag following. There are also many lines which seem to be formless as regards metre, rhyme, or stanza. Judging by the analogy of other plays of the kind, it is probable that this also was originally composed with much care for its poetical form, but has become partially corrupt through oral repetition and the errors of copyists. In one or two instances only have the sense and the rhyme required enabled me to suggest restorations (lines 132, 141, 354, 428): a local or corrected pronunciation will lead to the restoration of other rhymes, as in lines 17—20, 38, 40, 76, 286, 409, 410.

It must be remarked also that interjectional phrases and exclamations were probably often treated as prose in this piece, as they certainly were in the York plays. This adds to the difficulty of discovering the normal stanza. Three stage directions only are found (after lines 289, 315, and 383): they are written in the MS. as part of the text. The rest, with the title personages, and scene of the play, are my addition. The names of the speakers are written in the margin of the original.

[A PLAY OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.

Dramatis Personæ.

DEUS.

ABRAHAM.

ANGELUS.

ISAAC.

Scene—*The field near Abraham's abode in Beersheba*].

Abraham.

Fader of heuyn omnipotent,

Fo. 15. *With all my hart to the I call,
Thow hast ȝoffe me both lond and rent,
And my lyvelod thow hast me sent,
I thanke the heyly,⁶ euer more, of all.*

Fyrst off the erth pou maydst Adam,

And Eue also to be hys wyffe,
All other creatures of them too cam,
And now thow hast grant to me, Abraham,
Her in thys lond to lede my lyffe.

⁶ *Heyly*, highly.

In my age pou hast grantyd me thys,
 That thys zowng chylde *with* me shall wone; 12
 I love no thyng so myche, i-wysse,
 Except pin owyne selffe, der fader of blysse,
 As ysaac her, my owyne swete sone.

I haue dyuerse chyldryn moo 16
 The wych I love not halffe so wyll;⁷
 Thys fayer swet chylde, he schereys⁸ me soo,
 In euery place wer that I goo,
 That noo dessece⁹ her may I fell.¹ 20

And ther for, fadyr of heuyn, I the prey
 For hys helth and also for hys grace,
 Now lord, kepe hym both nygth and day,
 That neuer dessese nor noo fray 24
 Cume to my chylde in noo place.

[To Isaac.

Now cum on, ysaac, my owyne swete chylde!
 Goo we hom and take ovr rest.

Ysaac.

Abraham! myne owyne fader so myld, 28
 To folowe zow I am full glad,
 Bothe erly *and* late.

Abraham.

Fo. 15v°. Cume on, swete chylde, I love the best
 Of all the chyldryn that euer I be-gat. 32

Deus [*in heaven*].

Myn angell, fast hey the thy wey,
 An on to medyll-erth anon pou goo,

⁷ The adverb "well" is spelt throughout *wyll*, it was pronounced to rhyme with feel, deal, &c.

⁸ *Schereys*, cheers.

⁹ *Dissece*, dis-ease, i.e. hurt or discomfort.

¹ *Fell*, feel.

Abram's hart now wyll I asay,
 Wether that he be stedfast or noo. 36
 Sey I *commaw[n]* dyd hym for to take
 Ysaac, hys zowng sonne, pat he love so wyll,
 And *with* hys blood sacryfyce he make,
 Yffe only off my freynchepe yf he wyll fell. 40
 Schow hym the wey on to the hylle
 Wer that hys sacryffyce schall be,
 I schall a-say now hys good wyll,
 Whether he lovyd better hys chyld or me. 44
 All men schall take exampyll be hym
 My *commawmentes* how they schall kepe.

Abraham.

Now fader of heuyn pat formyd all thyng,
 My preyer^{es} I make to the a-zeyn, 48
 For thys day my tender offryng
 Here mvst I geve to the certeyn.
 A! lord god, all myty kyng,
 Wat maner best woll make p^e most fayn? 52
 Yff I had ther-of very knyng
 Yt schuld be don *with* all my mayne,
 Full sone a-none.
 To don thy plesyng on an hyll, 56
 Verely yt ys my wyll,
 Dere fader god in trinyte.

[Enter Angel.

The Angell.

Abraham, Abraham, wyll pou rest!
 Owre lord comandyth pe for to take 60
 Fo. 16. Ysaac, thy zowng sone that thow lovyst best,
 And *with* hys blod sacryfyce pat thow make.

In to the lond of Vayon thou goo,
 And offer thy chyld on-to thy lord ; 64
 I schall the lede and schow all soo ;
 Vnto goddes hest Abraham a-cord,
 And folow me vp on thys grene.²

Abraham.

Wolle-com to me be my lordes sond, 68
 And hys hest I wyll not with-stand :
 zyt ysaac, my zowng sonne in lond,
 A full dere chyld to me haue byn.

I had lever,³ yf god had be plesyd. 72
 For to a for-bore all pe good pat I haue,
 Than ysaac my sone schuld a be desessyd,
 So god in heuyn my sowll mot saue !

I lovyd neuer thyng soo mych in erthe,⁴ 76
 And now I mvst the chyld goo kyll.
 A ! lord god, my conseons ys stronly steryd,
 And zyt my dere lord I am sore a-ferd,
 To groche ony thyng a-zens zowre wyll. 80

I love my chyld as my lyffe,
 But zyt I love my god myche more,
 For thou my hart woold make ony stryffe,
 zyt wyll I not spare for chyld nor wyffe, 84
 But don after my lordes lore.

Thow I love my sonne neuer so wyll,
 zyt smythe of hys hed sone I schall.

² Perhaps *grene* should be *hond*, to rhyme with *stand* in line 69.

³ *Lever*, comparative of *liefe*, dear ; *I had lever*, it were dearer to me, I had rather.

⁴ Pronounce *erde*, cf. lines 220, 222.

A! fader of heuyn, to the I knell,⁵ 88
 An hard dethe my son schall fell
 For to honor the, lord, *with*-all.

The Angell.

Fo.16v°. Abraham! Abraham! thys ys wyll seyd,
 And all thys comamentes⁶ loke pat pou kepe, 92
 But in thy hart be no thyng dysmasyd.

Abraham.

Nay, nay, for-soth, I held me wyll plesyd.
 To plesse⁷ my god *with* the best pat I haue
 For thow my hart be heuely sett 96
 To see the blood of my owyn dere sone,
 gyt for all thys I wyll not lett,
 But ysaac my son I wyll goo fett, [Exit Angel.
 And cum asse fast as euer we can. 100

Now ysaac, my owyne son dere,
 Wer art thow, chylde? Speke to me.

Ysaac.

My fader, swet fader, I am here,
 And make my preyrys to pe trenyte. 104

Abraham.

Rysse vp, my chylde, and fast cum heder,
 My gentyll barn pat art so wysse,
 For we to, chylde, must goo to-geder,
 And on-to my lord make sacryffyce. 108

⁵ *Knell*, kneel.

⁶ *Comamentes*, commandments.

⁷ MS. *plesse*.

Ysaac.

I am full redy, my fader, loo!
 gevyn at 3owr handes I stand rygth here,
 And wat so euer 3e byd me doo,
 Yt schall be don with glad cher, 112
 Full wyll and fyne.

Abraham.

A! ysaac, my owyn son soo dere,
 Godes blyssyng I 3yffe the and myn.
 Hold thys fagot vp on pi bake, 116
 And her my selffe fyer schall bryng.

Ysaac.

Fader all thys here wyll I packe,
 I am full fayn to do 3owr bedyng.

Fo. 17.

Abraham.

A! lord of heuyn, my handes I wryng, 120
 Thys chyldes wordes all to wond my harte.
 Now ysaac, on, goo we owr wey [They set off.
 On to 3on mownte, with all owr mayn.

Ysaac.

Gowe my dere fader as fast as I may, 124
 To folow 3ow I am full fayn,
 All thow I be slendyr.

Abraham.

A! lord! my hart brekyth on tweyn,⁷
 Thys chyldes wordes, they be so tender. 128

⁷ In MS. *tewyn*.

A! ysaac, son, a-non ley yt down,
 No lenger vp on pi backe yt bere,
 For I mvst make redy bon
 To honowr my lord god as I schuld.⁸ 132

[*They arrive at Mount Vision.*]

Ysaac.

Loo! my dere fader, were yt ys,
 To cher zow all-wey I draw me nere.
 But fader, I mervell sore of thys,
 Wy pat ze make thys heuy chere? 136
 And also, fader, euer more dred I,
 Wer ys zowr qweke⁹ best pat ze schuld kyll?

Both fyer and wood we haue redy,
 But queke best haue we non on pis hyll. 140
 A qwyke best, I wot wyll, must be ded,
 zowr sacryfyce for to make.¹

Abraham.

Dred the nowgth, my chyld, I the red,
 Owr lord wyll send me on to thys sted, 144
 Summ maner a best for to take,
 Throw hys swet sond.

Ysaac.

za! fader, but my hart begynnyth to quake,
 To se pat scharpe sword in zowr hond. 148
 Wy bere ze zowr sword drawyn soo?

Fo. 17 v°. Off zowre conwnauns² I haue mych wonder.

Abraham.

A! fader of heuyn, so³ I am woo!
 Thys chyld her brekys my harte on too. 152

⁸ Perhaps the original version had *that I fere, for as I schuld.*

⁹ *Qweke*, quick, alive. ¹ In the MS. lines 141 and 142 are reversed.

² This word appears to be *countenance*.

³ MS. *os*.

Ysaac.

Tell me, my dere fader, or that 3e ses,
Ber 3e 3owr sword draw for me?

Abraham.

A! ysaac, swet son, pes! pes!
For i-wys thow breke my harte on thre. 156

Ysaac.

Now trewly sum-what, fader, 3e thynke,
That 3e morne thus more and more.

Abraham.

A! lord of heuyn, thy grace let synke,
For my hart was neuer halffe so sore. 160

Ysaac.

I preye 3ow, fader, pat 3e wyll let me pat wyt,
Wyther schall I haue ony harme or noo?

Abraham.

I-wys, swet son, I may not tell the 3yt,
My hart ys now soo full of woo. 164

Ysaac.

Dere fader, I prey 3ow, hydygth⁴ not fro me,
But sum of 3owr thowt pat 3e tell me.

Abraham.

A ysaac, ysaac! I must kyll the.

⁴ *Hydygth*, hide it. This appears to be a relic of the coalescence of a verb and pronoun, a peculiarity of East Midland dialect. See also lines 257, 300, 304.

Ysaac.

Kyll me, fader, a-lasse! wat haue I done? 168
 Yff I haue trespassyd a-gens zow owt,
With a zard ze may make me full myld;
 And *with* zowr scharp sword kyll me nogth,
 For i-wys, fader, I am but a chyld. 172

Abraham.

I am full sory, son, thy blood for to spyll,
 But truly, my chyld, I may not chese.

Ysaac.

Now I wold to god my moder were her on yis hyll,
 Sche woold knele for me on both hyr kneys 176
 To save my lyffe.
 And sythyn that my moder ys not here,
 I pray zow fader, schonge^b zowr chere,
 And kyll me not *with* zowyr knyffe. 180

Abraham.

For-sothe, son, but zyf I the kyll,
 I schuld greve god rygth sore, I drede,
 Yt ys hys commawment and also hys wyll
 That I schuld do thys same dede. 184
 He commawndyd me, son, for serteyn,
 To make my sacryfyce *with* thy blood.

Ysaac.

And ys yt goddes wyll pat I schuld be slayn?

Abraham.

Za, truly, ysaac, my son soo good, 188
 And ther-for my handes I wryng.

^b *Schonge*, change.

Ysaac.

Now fader, azens my lordes wyll,
 I wyll neuer groche, lowd nor styll;
 He mygth a sent⁶ me a better desteny 192
 Yf yt had a be⁶ hys plecer.

Abraham.

For-sothe, son, but yf I ded pis dede,
 Grevosly dysplessyd owr lord wyll be.

Ysaac.

Nay, nay, fader, god for-bede, 196
 That euer ze schuld greve hym for me.

ze haue other chyldryn, on or too,
 The wyche ze schuld love wyll, be kynd;
 I prey zow, fader, make ze no woo, 200
 For be I onys ded and fro zow goo,
 I schall be sone owt of zowre mynd.

Ther-for doo owre lordes byddyng,
 And wan I am ded than prey for me : 204
 But, good fader, tell ze my moder no thyng,
 Sey pat I am in a-nother cuntre dwellyng.⁷

Abraham.

A! ysaac, ysaac, blyssyd mot thow be !

My hart be-gynnys⁸ stronly to rysse, 208
 To see the blood off thy blyssyd body.

⁶ *A sent, a be*—have sent, have been.

⁷ MS. *dewllyng*.

⁸ MS. *begynnyd*.

Ysaac.

Fader, syn yt may be noo other wysse,
 Let yt passe ouer as wyll as I.
 Fo.18v°. But fader, or I goo on to my deth, 212
 I prey zow blysse me with zowr hand.

Abraham.

Now ysaac, with all my breth,
 My blyssyng I zeve pe vpon thys lond,
 And godes also ther to, i-wys. 216
 Ysaac! ysaac, sone up thow stond,
 Thy fayer swete mowthe pat I may kys.

Ysaac.

Now, for wyll,⁹ my owyne fader so fyn,
 And grete wyll my moder in erthe.¹ 220
 But I prey zow fader to hyd my eyne,
 That I se not pe stroke of zowr scharpe sword,
 That my fleysse schall defyle.

Abraham.

Sone, thy wordes make me to weep full sore, 224
 Now my dere son ysaac, speke no more.

Ysaac.

A! my owyne dere fader, were fore?
 We schall speke to-gedyr her but a wyll.²
 And sythyn that I must nedysse be ded, 228
 zyt my dere fader to zow I prey,
 Smythe but feve³ strokes at my hed,
 And make an end as sone as ze may,
 And tery not to longe. 232

⁹ That is, *fare well*.¹ See note to line 76.² *Wyll*, while.³ *I.e.* few.

Abraham.

Thy meke wordes, chyld, make me afrayed,
So welawey! may be my songe,
Excepe alonly godes wyll.

A! ysaac, my owyn swete chyld! 236
3yt kysse me a-zen vp-on thys hyll!
In all thys war[l]d ys non so myld.

Ysaac.

Now, truly, fader, all thys teryyng
Yt doth my hart but harme. 240
I prey 3ow, fader, make an enddyng.

Abraham.

Cume up, swet son, on to my arme,
I must bynd thy hands too, [*He binds Isaac's hands.*]
All thow thow be neuer soo myld. 244

Ysaac.

A! mercy, fader, wy schuld 3e do soo?

Fo. 19.

Abraham.

That thow schuldyst not let [me], my chyld.

Ysaac.

Nay, i-wysse, fader, I wyll not let 3ow,
Do on for me 3owre wyll, 248
And on the purpos that 3e haue set 3ow,
For godes love kepe yt forthe styll.
I am full sory thys day to dey,
But 3yt I kepe not my god to greve, 252
Do on 3owre lyst for me hardly,
My fayer swete fader, I 3effe 3ow leve.

But, fader, I prey ȝow euer more,
 Tell ȝe my moder no dell.⁴ 256
 Yffe sche wostyt sche wold wepe full sore,
 For i-wysse, fader, sche lovyt me full wyll;
 Goddes blyssyng mot sche haue!
 Now for-wyll, my moder so swete, 260
 We too be leke no mor to mete.

Abraham.

A! ysaac, ysaac! son, pou makyst me to gret,
 And *with* thy wordes thow dystempurst me.

Ysaac.

I-wysse, swete fader, I am sory to greve ȝow, 264
 I cry ȝow mercy of that I haue donne,
 And of all trespasse pat euer I ded meve ȝow,
 Now, dere fader, for-ȝyffe me pat I have donne.
 God of heuyn be *with* me. 268

Abraham.

A! dere chyld, lefe of thy monys,
 In all thy lyffe thow grevyd me neuer onys,
 Now blyssyd be thow, body and bonys,
 That euer thow were bred and born, 272
 Thow hast be to me, chyld, full good.
 But i-wysse, chyld, thou I morne neuer so fast,
 ȝyt must I nedes here at the last
 In thys place sched all thy blood. 276
 Ther-for, my dere son, her schall pou lye,
 On-to my warke I must me stede,
 I-wysse I had as leve my selffe to dey,—
 Fo. 19 v. Yf god wyll plecyd with my dede,— 280
 And myn owyn body for to offer.

⁴ *Dell*, deal, bit; *no dell*, not at all.

Ysaac.

A! mercy, fader, morne ge no more,
 zowr wepyng make my hart sore,
 As my owyn deth that I schall suffer. 284
 zowre kerche fader a-bowt my eyn ge wynd.

Abraham.

So I schall, my swettest chyld in erthe.

Ysaac.

Now zyt, good fader, haue thys in mynd,
 Andsmythme not oftyn with zour scharp sword, 288
 But hastely that yt be sped.

Abraham.

[Here Abraham leyd a cloth on Ysaaces face, thus seyyng —
 Now, fore wyll, my chyld, so full of grace.

Ysaac.

A! fader, fader, torne downgward my face,
 For of zowre scharpe sword I am euer a dred. 292

Abraham.

To don thys dede I am full sory,
 But lord thyn hest I wyll not with stond.

Ysaac.

A! Fader of heuyn! to the I crye,
 Lord, reseyyve me in to thy hand. 296

Abraham.

Loo! now ys the tyme cum certeyn,
 That my sword in hys necke schall synke.
 A! lord, my hart reysyth the ageyn,
 I may not fyndygth⁵ in my harte to smygth; 300

⁵ See note to line 165.

My hart wyll not now ther too,
 3yt fayn I woold warke my lordes wyll.
 But thys 3owng Innosent lygth so styll,
 I may not fyndygth in my hart hym to kyll. 304
 O! Fader of heuyn! what schall I doo?

Ysaac.

A! mercy, fader, wy tery 3e so,
 And let me ley thus longe on pis heth?
 Now I wold to god pe stroke were doo, 308
 Fader, I prey 3ow hartely, schorte me of my woo,
 And let me not loke thus after my degth.

Abraham.

Now hart, wy wolddyst not thow breke on thre?
 Fo. 20. 3yt schall pu not make me to my god on-myld.
 I wyll no lenger let for the, [312
 For that my god a-grevyd wold be,
 Now hoold tha stroke, my owyn dere chylde.

[Her Abraham drew hys stroke and the angell toke the sword in
 hys hond soddenly.]

The Angell.

I am an angell, thou mayist se blythe, 316
 That fro heuyn to the ys senth,
 Owr lord thanke the an c. sythe,
 For the kepyng of hys commawment.
 He knowyt pi wyll and also thy harte, 320
 That thow dredyst hym above all thyng,
 And sum of thy hevynes for to departe
 A fayr Ram 3ynder I gan brynge,
 He standyth teyed, loo! a-mong pe breres. 324
 Now, Abraham, a-mend thy mood,
 For ysaac, thy 3owng son pat her ys,
 Thys day schall not sched hys blood;

Goo, make thy sacryfece with 3on Rame. 328

Now, for-wyll⁶ blyssyd Abraham,
For on-to heuyn I goo now hom,
The wey ys full gayn.

Take vp thy son soo free. [*Exit Angel.*] 332

Abraham.

A! lord, I thanke the of thy gret grace,
Now am I yeyed⁷ on dyuers wysse,
A-rysse vp, ysaac, my dere sunne a-rysse,
Arysse vp, swete chyld, and cum to me. 336

Ysaac.

A! mercy, fader, wy smygth 3e not 3yt?
A! smygth on, fader, onys with 3owre knyffe.

Abraham.

Pesse, my swet sir! and take no thowt,
For owre lord of heuyn hath grant pi lyffe 340
Be hys angell now,
That pou schalt not dey pis dey, sunne, truly.

Fo. 20v°.

Ysaac.

A! fader, full glad than wer I,
I-wys! fader, I sey, i-wys! 344
Yf thys tale wer trew.

Abraham.

An hundyrd tymys, my son fayer of hew,
For joy pi mowt now wyll I kys.

Ysaac.

A! my dere fader, Abraham, 348
Wyll not god be wroth pat we do thus?

⁶ *For-wyll*, farewell.

⁷ *Yeyed*, joyed, rejoiced.

Abraham.

Noo, noo! harly⁸ my swyt son,
 For gyn⁹ same Rame he hath vs sent
 Hether down to vs. 352
 gyn⁹ best schall dey here in pi sted,
 In the worpchup¹ of our lord a-lon.
 Goo fet hym hethyr, my chyld, in ded.

Ysaac.

Fader, I wyll goo hent² hym be the hed, 356
 And bryng zon best with me a-non.

[Isaac catches the ram.]

A! scheppe, scheppe! blessed mot pou be,
 That euer thou were sent down heder,
 Thou schall thys day dey for me, 360
 In the worchup of the holy Trynyte,
 Now cum fast and goo we to geder

To my fader of heuyn,
 Thou pou be neuer so jentyll and good, 364
 zyt had I leuer thou schedyst pi blood,
 I-wysse, scheppe, than I.

Loo! fader, I haue browt here full smerte,
 Thys jentyll scheppe, 368
 And hym to zow I zyffe.

But lord god, I thanke ye with all my hart,
 For I am glad that I schall leve,
 And kys onys my dere moder. 372

Abraham.

Now be rygth myry, my swete chyld,
 For thys qwyke best pat ys so myld,
 Fo. 21. Here I schall present be-fore all other.

⁸ Harly, heartily.

⁹ gyn, yon.

¹ MS. worpchup.

² Hent, seize.

Ysaac.

And I wyll fast be-gynne to blowe, 376
 Thys fyere schall brene a full good spyd;
 But, fader, wyll I stowppe² downe lowe,
 ze wyll not kyll me with zowre sword, I trowe?

Abraham.

Noo, harly,³ swet son haue no dred, 380
 My mornyng ys past.

Ysaac.

za! but I woold pat sword wer in a glad,⁴
 For i-wys, fader, yt make me full yll a-gast.

[Here Abraham mad hys offryng, knelyng and seying thus—

Abraham.

Now lord god of hevyn in Trynyte, 384
 All myty god omnipotent,
 My offeryng I make in the worchope of the,
 And with thys qweke best I the present.
 Lord reseyve thow myn intent, 388
 As art god and grownd of owr grace.

Deus.

Abraham, Abraham, wyll mot thow sped,
 And ysaac, pi zowng son the by,
 Trvly, Abraham, for thys dede, 392
 I schall mvltyplye zowres botheres sede
 As thyke as sterres be in the skye,
 Bothe more and lesse;
 And as thyke as gravell in the see, 396
 So thyke mvltyplyed zowre sede schall be,
 Thys grant I zow for zowre goodnesse.

² *Stowppe*, stoops, bend.

³ *Harly*, hertely, heartily, truly.

⁴ *Glad*, glede, hot ash in the fire. Isaac wishes the sword were in the fire, it terrifies him so greatly.

Off 3ow schall cume frowte gret,
 And euer be in blysse *with*-owt 3ynd,⁵ 400
 For 3e drede me as god a-lon,
 And kepe my *commawmentes* eueryschon.
 My blyssyng I 3effe, were so euer 3e goo.

Abraham.

Loo, ysaac, my son, how thynke 3e 404
 Be thys warke that we haue wroght,
 Fo. 21 v°. Full glad and blythe we may be
 A3ens pe wyll of god *pat* we grucched nott,
 Vp-on thys fayer hetth. 408

Ysaac.

A! fader, I thanke owr lord euery dell,
 That my wyt servyd me so wyll,
 For to drede god more than my detth.

Abraham.

Why dere-wordy son, wer thow a-dred? 412
 Hardely, chyld, tell me thy lore.

Ysaac.

3a, be my feyth, fader, now hath I red,
 I wos neuer soo afrayd be-fore,
 As I haue byn at 3yn hyll. 416
 But be my feyth, fader, I swere
 I wyll neuer more cume there,
 But yt be a3ens my wyll.

Abraham.

3a, cum on *with* me, my owyn swet sonn, 420
 And hom-ward fast now let vs goon.

Ysaac.

Be my feyth, fader, ther-to I grant,
 I had neuer so good wyll to gon hom,
 And to speke *with* my dere moder. 424

⁵ 3ynd, end.

Abraham.

A! lord of heuyn, I thanke the,
 For now may I led hom *with* me
 Ysaac, my zownge sonn soo fre.
 The gentyllest chyld a-bove all other,⁶ 428
 Thys may I wyll a-voee.
 Now goo we forthe my blyssyd sonn.

Ysaac.

I grant, fader, and let vs gon,
 For be my trowthe wer I at home, 432
 I wold neuer gon owt vnder that forme.
 I prey god zeffe vs grace euer mo,
 And all thow that we be holdyng to.

Doctor.

Lo! sovereyns and sorys,⁷ now haue we schowyd, 436
 Thys solom story hath schowyd to grete and smale,
 It ys good lernyng to lernd and lewyd,
 Fo. And pe wysest of vs all,
 22. Wyth owtyn ony berryng.⁸ 440
 For thys story schoyt zowe
 How we schuld kepe to owr pore
 Goddess commawmentes, *with* owt grochyng.
 ' Trowe ze, sores, and god sent an angell, 444
 And commawndyd zow to smygth of zowr chyldes hed,
 Be zowre trowthe ys ther ony of zow
 That eyther wold groche or stryve ther ageyn ?

⁶ MS., *erthe*.⁷ *Sorys*, sirs.⁸ *Berryng*, from berry, to thresh. The "learning" or teaching of this story comes out without any threshing.

How thyngke ze now, sorys, ther-by ? 448
 I trow ther be iij or iiij or moo ;
 And thys women that wepe so sorowfully
 Whan that hyr chyldryn dey them froo,
 As nater woll,⁹ and kynd. 452
 Yt ys but folly, I may wyll awooe,
 To groche a-zens god or to greve zow,
 For ze schall neuer se hym myschevyd, wyll I knowe,
 Be lond nor watyr, haue thys in mynd. 456
 And groche not a-zens owr lord god,
 In welthe or woo, wether that he zow send,
 Thow ze be neuer so hard be-stad,
 For whan he wyll he may yt a-mend. 460
 Hys comawmentes treuly yf ze kepe with goo[d] hart,
 As thys story hath now schowyd zow before,
 And feytheffully serve hym qwyll ze be quart,¹
 That ze may plece god bothe euyn and morne. 464
 Now Jesu, that weryt the crown of thorne,
 Bryng vs all to heuyn blysse !

Finis.

THE FIFTEEN SIGNS BEFORE DOOMSDAY.

IN the first century after Christ the expectation of the last day gave rise to descriptions of the signs which should betoken it, shaped by fervent imagination, not only upon our Lord's predictions in Luke xxi. 9—11; Math. xiv. 7 and xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24, but also on other passages, as Ezekiel xxxii. 7, 8; Joel ii. 10, 32; Isa. xiii. 9, 10, and xxxiv. 4, and others. The apocryphal fourth book of Ezra, Bishop Hippolytus, Lactantius, Eusebius, Jerome, and Augustine, one after the other, took up the legend,—increased, defined, or modified it.

⁹ *Woll* repeated twice in MS.

¹ *Quart*, active, hearty, in good condition.

A Greek acrostic, which in the fourth and fifth centuries was embodied by Lactantius in his *Divina Institutio* and translated by Augustine into Latin hexameters,² seems to be the original source of the narration of fifteen definite signs of doom predicted by one of the Sibyls, which, perhaps mainly through this translation of Augustine's, became widely spread in the works of Bede, Adso, Comestor, Aquinas, and others, during the middle ages. Poems, on varying versions of the subject taken from these writers, are found in nearly every country of Christendom, from the twelfth century onwards,—French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, German, Old Friesic, Dutch, Anglo-Saxon, English, Old Irish, and Icelandic.³

A great many of these poems and writers, the earliest of whom appears to be Bede,⁴ attribute the legend to Jerome; nothing of the kind is, however, to be found in his works printed by the Benedictines, though it may have been in some writing of his now lost.

There are many middle English poems on the Signs of Doom. It is found sometimes included as part of a long collective poem, as in the *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 22428—22710, in part iv.; Hampole's *Prick of Conscience*, ll. 4738—4817; and Sir David Lyndesay's *Monarchie*, book iv. ll. 5450—5509. The legend is embodied in a shorter poem

² *Civitate Dei*, lib. 18, cap. 22.

³ It would be impossible to give here full details. Those who wish to go further into the subject are referred to Dr. Nölle's useful and suggestive essay, *Die Legende von den Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gerichte*, in *Paul and Braune's Beiträge*, Halle, 1879, vol. vi. p. 412, and to the references in it; to an article by E. Sommer, in the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, vol. iii. p. 523; and especially to that by Caroline Michaëlis in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, &c., 1870, vol. xlv. p. 33; to references in Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben*, i. 120, and in Furnivall's *Adam Davy's Five Dreams*, &c., E. E. T. Soc., 1878; for French version to the *Bulletin des Anc. Textes Français*, 1879, pp. 74, 79—83, and to the drama of *Adam*, ed. V. Luzarche, Tours, 1854, p. 71; as to Provençal, see *Daurel et Beton*, ed. P. Meyer, Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr. 1880, p. xcvii. The Northmen of the tenth century, or thereabouts, put the story into the *Wolospa* (see Vigfusson and Powell's *Corp. Poet. Boreale*, i. lxxvii. ii. 625, 637, 650; in Old Irish about the twelfth century, Dr. Whitley Stokes tells me, it is found in a collection of poems on the histories of the Bible, *Saltair na Rann* (Anecdota Oxon. Oxford, 1883, ed. Whitley Stokes), Nos. cliii.—clix. The old Friesian version is printed in Max Rieger's *Lesebuch*, p. 213.

⁴ *Collectanea et Flores*, Works, Cologne, 1612, iii. p. 494.

to enforce the argument, as in one of the versions of the *Debate between the Body and the Soul*,⁵ Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 57, ll. 49—86, printed in the Latin poems of W. Mapes, edited by Thomas Wright, Camden Society, 1841, p. 346, and in the play called *Esechiel, foretelling Anti-Christ and the End of the World*, in the Chester Plays, ed. T. Wright, Shakespeare Soc., 1847, vol. ii. p. 147; or it is a short detached piece confined to the subject alone. Examples of these have been printed from eight manuscripts.⁶ Our Brome example is another copy of that found in the Cambridge Trinity College manuscript mentioned in the note. It contains sixteen lines at the beginning (ll. 3—18) not found in that copy, and several other variations; but on the whole follows it pretty closely. The last thirty-two lines are, however, wanting at the hand of the Brome scribe. As the two are nearly contemporary, the Cambridge MS. being dated by Mr. Furnivall at about 1450 A.D., I have numbered the lines of the Brome copy independently. The version printed by Varnhagen from the Cotton MS. (see note below) is a third copy of the same. It contains fifty-six lines of preamble before the line "Kyng of blysse, blyssyd pou be!" with which the Trinity College and Brome copies begin, and wants a few lines in other places, otherwise it bears a close resemblance to these.

FO. 23^a. **K** yng of blysse, blyssyd pou be,
 lord of myth and of pete!
 Grawnth⁷ vs, for thy holy myth,
 That we synne neuer with-ynne pi syth; 4
 Off thy wyll, we prey the,
 That pe fynd yn vs hath no poste.

⁵ This version agrees with that in the *Saltair na Rann*, in describing only seven signs.

⁶ Mätzner, as before, i. p. 120; Furnivall's *Adam Davy, &c.*, p. 92, from Laud MS. 622; Furnivall's *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, E. E. T. Soc., 1867, p. 118, from a MS. at Trin. Coll., Cambridge, B. xi. 24; J. Small's *English Metrical Homilies of the Fourteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 25; *Chester Plays*, ed. for Shakespeare Soc. by T. Wright, 1847, vol. ii. p. 219, from Harl. 913, fol. 20, and Harl. 2256, fol. 117; Varnhagen, in *Anglia*, vol. iii. 1880, pp. 533, 543, from Cambridge University, Ff. ii. 38, fo. 42, and Cotton Caligula, A. ii. fol. 89.

⁷ Graunte, Cotton version.

- Mayden Mary, full of grace,
 Be-seke thy sone yn euery place, 8
 As he ys lord of myche grace,
 That the fynd yn vs haue no space,
⁸ The sowle pat 3e toke and vs 3eweffe,
 That ys be Jesus cryste to qweweffe. 12
 A pater *noster* sey we all,
 In de[d]ly synne pat we per-in nouzt fall,
 And an aue and a crede,
 Lord! for-3eue vs owre mysse-dede, 16
 Granth vs, lord! ⁹ be-forne owre ende,
 For we wote neuer wan we xall wynde.
 The xv tokenys tellyn I may,
 The wych xall cume or domys day, 20
 And also seyth sey nth Jeromye
 In the boke of *propheeye*.
 i. The fyrste day xall reyne blode,
 For drede men xall byn all-moste wode, 24
 All that yn erthe than xall stand
 Schall waxyn blake, and blod xall wond.
 The chyldryn on-borne, I tell the,
 Off thoo tokenys a-ferd xall be, 28
 And cryen vp-on heuyne bryth,
 Ryth as they spekyn myth.
 ij. The secunde day ys hard to telle,
 The starrys schuldyn fro heuyne falle, 32
 Also dreful and also bryth
 As the fyer of thundyr lyth.
 Men owt to seyn "[well-away]!"
 These byn the tokenys of pe dome[s-day]!" 36
 Fo.23^b. They xall cryen and syen sore,

⁸ Lines 11 and 12 stand thus in *Cotton* :—

The sowle, pat he tooke us to 3eme,
 That hyt be to pe Jesu for to qweme.

⁹ *Shryfte* instead of *lord* in *Cotton*.

- And [say], "Jesu cryste, thyn hore."¹
- iiij. The thredde day ys day non swech²
 In erthe nor yn heuyn-ryth,² 40
 The hey sunne that ys so bryth,
 So fayer and so full of lyth,
 Schall be-cume blakker than pe pyke.
 In that day t[r]ewe-lyche, 44
 Men xall than pe sune se
 Also swart as yt may be,
 Men xall sore a-ferd be
 For the tokenys that they xall se. 48
 Alas ! that we xall here a-byde
 To syne sweche sorowe on euery syde.
- iiij. The forte day tokyn ys full long,
 With wepynge and with sowrowe strong. 52
 The mone xall at the erpe stond,
 To rede bloode he xall wond ;
 He hastyd hym sore to the grownd,
 He wyll ther be leuyn no stownd, 56
 To the see he goth for drede,
 As Moyses be-forn vs seyde.
 The Mone xall waxyn brod and full rawe,
 And wyndyn owth of hys ryth lawe. 60
 The man xall sey to hys wyffe,
 "A-las ! that we byn a-lyve."
- v. The fifte day comyth full swype,
 For euery best that ys on-lyve 64
 Toward heuyn hys hed he halte,
 Wondyr yt ys that he may walke.
 He wold spekyn, and he myth,
 And cryen, "mercy ! Jesu cryste," 68
 And klepyn, "Jesu, thyn ore,
 Off that myschyffe we se no more."

¹ This word is *ore* in the *Camb. MS.*, i.e., *mercy, pity*.

² In the *Cambridge* these two words are "syche" and "heven-ryche."

- So seyth the *prophecy*,
 In hys boke of *Joromye*, 72
- Fo.24^a. That euery beste a-ferd schall be
 Off thoo tokenys that they xall se.
 Wyll they mown vndyr-stonde
 That all thys word xall vndyr-fonde, 76
 That Jesu haue on vs pete,
 As he vs bowth on the rode tre,
 That we mown cume to hys blyse,
 Jesu, lord ! yf thy wyll ys. 80
- vj. The sexte day xall down fall
 Trysse *with* ther croppys all,
 Toward heuyn turne the rote,
 And to the grownd the toppys for pe fote. 84
 Man for drede xall lesyn hys wyffe,
 The wyffe hyre [child] and pe chylde the lyffe ;
 All pou leuyn xall lesyn ther wyth,³
 Wo ys hym that day on byth. 88
 The folke than that arn on-lyve,
 Myche payne they schall dryve.
 A-las ! that lyve ys so towth,
 That yt may *with* sowrow nowth, 92
 Bettyr yt wer to byn on-lyffe⁴
 Than wyche sorow for to dryve.
- vij. The sente day schall [f]all down
 Chyrch, and castyll, and euery town, 96
 All xall brekyn euery dell,
 The mowteynys xall pe dalles fyll ;
 For strong drede yt schall schake,
 That all the word fore dred xall quake. 100
 Than schall pe ward yevyn be,
 Wo ys hym that yt xall se !
- viii. The eyzte day ys day of drede,
 As moyseys be-forn vs seyd, 104

³ *I.e.*, wit.⁴ *Camb.* has "oute off lyve."

- That the see schall rysyne and fle
 More than hys myth schall be.
 For drede he rysyth, hebbyth, and flowyth,
 For the stronge wynd that blowyth, 108
 The wavys schuldyn so grete be
- Fo. 24^b. In-to heuyn yt wold fleyn.
 All that leuyn that yche day,
 He wold flyen and he noȝte may, 112
 Vnder erthe they woldyn be,
 That god xulde hym noȝte se.
 Than he hym *with*-drawe,
 And gon a-ȝen yn-to hys ryth lawe. 116
 God of heuyn that yche day,
 So he brynge vs theder as he wyll may.
- ix. The nynȝth day, wondyr yt ys,
 As prophycye vs seyth, i-wys, 120
 For euery watyr xall spekyng than,
 And steyn vp be-fore a man,
 And cryen than to Jesus cryste,
 Ryth as they spekyne myth, 124
 "Lord! thys myschyffe *pou* ful-fyll,
 For we dedyn neuer a-ȝen pi wyll
 Wyth synne nor *with* wykȝd dede,
 Lord! bryng vs owte of thys drede. 128
 And gran[t]wȝt vs all to reste
 Ther bale ys moste, and boote ys beste."
- x. The tenthe day ys day of sweme,⁵
 As Gregory seyth and Jeromye, 132
 That knelyn schall angelys bryth,
 A-forn the fote of Jesus cryste.
 Seyn pater⁶ and hys felow-rede
 Schall not dore speke a word fore drede, 136
 He xulldyn syn heuyn on-do,
 And the erthe ryth also,

⁵ *Sweme*, trouble or grief.⁶ *I.e.*, Peter.

- He seyth and crystes swete sone
 For drede of the strong dome ; 140
 Owtzt xulld commy[n] pe devyll of helle,
 As Symon be-gan to telle,
 And cryn, "lord ! thow vs borowe
 Outze of owre peyn and outz of owre sowrowe, 144
 Fo.25. Thow hytyst vs to heuyn cumme,
 Woll longe thow haste vs for-gonne..
 p[rough] ⁷ wykydnesse of owre mysse-dede,
 We haue loste thy felow-rede ; 148
 Synne we haue suffyrd woll long,
 Woll byttyr balys and woll strong,
 Grawte vs, lord, thy felow-rede,
 We wyll amend owre mysse-dede." 152
 Thys ys pe day of strong sowrow,
 A wyll strenger cumme to-mowrow.
 xj. Th'elente day comyth wondyr lyth,
 With strong stormys and mych flyth ; 156
 Thow tokenys schallyn thow se
 That euer and euer schall be ;
 The reynbowe xall on-wryed be
 Gostlyche pat we mown se, 160
 That [the develyn] schall woll zarne
 For grete drede to helle ronne,
 Ther byn peynys hot and colde ;
 Judas ther-in deyed he wolde, 164
 God seyde ther-yn zyt he xull be,
 We woll noutz zyt hym se,
 Ther yn he xall wonyn and dwell,
 And all that euer he mown qwell. 168
 God loue vs to be-tyde,
 That byn be the bettyr syde.
 xij. The Twelte day ys drede-full than,
 Ther was neuer no falsse mane 172

⁷ The MS. has a contraction, po^r, which is unintelligible.

- That he ne wolde to god hym hyth,
 ȝyf he durste and troste most of hys myth.
 The angellys ȝe xuldyn syn all,
 And on knesse xuldyn down fall 176
 To goddes fote fore owre synne,
 For owre good and all man kynde.
 Lord we be-sekyn the
 That yn thy pore that we mown be ! 180
Fo.25^b. Than schall heuyn to-gedyr gon,
 Lenger to a-bydyn helpe ys ther non.
xiiij. Dredfull comyth the thertene day
 [To] All the folke that leuyn may ! 184
 Fro the be-gynnyng of Adamys sunne,
 In to the endyng of the day of domme,
 That may tellyn neuer no rede
 Halfe the sowrow and halfe pe drede, 188
 That god hym selfe schall seyn than,
 Whan he comyth down yn ⁸ the face of man,
 All the stonys grete and smale,⁹
 That byn yn erth, with-owtyne tale, 192
 All schall to-geder rynge
 For dr[e]de of owre heuyne kyng.
 They schall rysyn and seyth so,
 The rede blood schall fro them go. 196
xiiiij. The fortene day ys day of sorow,
 Wyll strenger comyth to mowrow.
 Ther ys no thyng yn thys ward ynne,
 But yn that fyer yt schall brene, 200
 Fowlle nor beste xall non be a-lyve,
 But yt schall brene fro morowe tyll even.
 ȝyfe ony man leue and se thys,
 He may be sory and hevy, i-wys. 204
 Thys pacyt¹ nouȝt woll sone,

⁸ MS. has *ynto*. ⁹ In the MS. ll. 191 and 192 are reversed by mistake.

¹ *I.e., passeth.*

- To morow comyth the day of dome.
- xv. The fyftene day comyth ful swype ;
- Ther was neuer no man a-lyve, 208
- Fro Adamys day, formeste man,
- But to the dome xall cume than ;
- And fro deth he schall ryse,
- And of the dome woll sore a-grise.² 212
- Euery man as of xxx¹⁸ gere olde
- Schall cume to the dome to be-holde.
- Fo.26^a. Euery man schall other mete.
- At the mownth of Olyuete ; 216
- The Angelys xall blowyn with per hornys,
- And pepyll schall [come] all at onys,
- Full sorely they mown a-gryse
- Fro the deth that they schall ryse. 220
- The Angell xall cume Jesus be-forn,
- With schurgys and a crown of thron,
- With dred-full chyr and with grete mode,
- All-so to hys harte yt stode,— 224
- The spere so bryth and so scharpe,
- And yt stonge hym to the herte.
- For no ylle no for no spyth
- Longes stonge zow to the harth, 228
- Owte sprange the blod all so rede,
- As prophycye a-fore vs seyde ;
- He strake ther with hys eye syth,
- Yt cum as bryth as candyll lyth : 232
- “ Kynge and lord of grete pete,
- Thys [mysdede] thow for-zyffe me.
- Longes ded zow [non]³ wykyd dede,
- And [for no covetyse of mede] ; 236

² Agrise (verb), *fear, be afraid*.

³ The Brome has *a* instead of *non* ; but it is not good sense. The next line is blank, but is here supplied also from the Cambridge MS. Lines 239—242 come between ll. 234 and 235 in the MS.—an evident mistake.

- And I wos blynd and myth note se,
 Ther-for lord I prey pe for-gevyt me."
 And angell xall bryn[g] pe rode so bryth,
 With bloddy naylys, precyus of syth. 240
 "Lord of myth, we prey the,
 On all mankynd thow haue pete !
 Than comyth owre lord with grete mode,
 Hys armys spred vp on pe rode, 244
 "Man, thow mayist here the soth se,
 What I haue suffyr for the,
 ge wer woll lef for to swere,
 Be myn eyne and be myn ere, 248
 Fo.26^b. Be my flesse and be my blode,
 Be my leuer and be my lowde ;
 Man, yt was to the woll ryffe,
 To sweryn be my wondys fyve, 252
 Be my brayn and be my hede,
 My sowle wos full oftyn rede ;
 Yt wos to the grete ondoynge,
 So oftyn to make sweryng. 256
 Thow woldyste me neuer clothe nor fede,
 Thow woldyst me helpyn at no nede,
 Oftyn thow woldyst for-swere the,
 Man, wat sufferyste thow for me." 260
 Than came owre lady hyr sonne be-forn,
 Blyssyd be the tyme that sche was born,
 Hyr eyes be-ran all with blode,
 Woll sore wepynge and with grete mode. 264
 Fader the sonne and the holy goste,
 Kyng and lord thow arte moste.

* * * * *

— Patrick, Saint. the knight etc.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY AND THE KNIGHT
SIR OWEN.⁴

THE story that St. Patrick, in order to excite the tardy faith of his fellow-countrymen, built an abbey in Ireland, at the entrance to a cavern, in a valley (or, as some say, on the top of a mountain); and established a ceremonial by which those who would go through the horrors of passing a night locked up alone in the cavern, and should come out alive from it, should escape purgatory after death, became popular and widely spread from the twelfth century. The narration of the experiences of Sir Owen or Owain, an English knight, who victoriously made this expiation for his sins in A.D. 1153, has been left on record by Henry of Saltrey, a monk born at Huntingdon, living about that time.⁵ It has been alluded to by several early chroniclers, including Math. Paris; and, developed or altered, is found in not a few Latin and French manuscripts and printed books. The poets Marie de France, Calderon, and it is thought even Dante, are indebted to the legend for inspiration.

The Legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory also gave rise to some other stories, such as the Visions of Tundalus, and the Vision of St. Paul; but these are distinct from the Visions of Sir Owen, which have an air of historic veracity given them by the mention of King Stephen, in whose time the events are supposed to have occurred.

Setting aside Latin, French, or Spanish redactions, we find in English three separate metrical versions, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the first volume of *Englische Studien*,⁶ (pp. 57—121), Professor Kölbing printed the two later versions of the legend in English metre (commonly called "Owain Miles"), namely, that contained in the Auchinleck MS. at Edinburgh (fourteenth century), and that contained in a paper MS. of the fifteenth century, Cott. Calig., A II. at the British Museum. Of each of these but one

⁴ This poem and part of the note are also printed in *Englische Studien*, vol. ix. part i., 1885. I am indebted to Herr O. Stoffel of Amsterdam for several corrections of that print.

⁵ Henry of Saltrey's account is printed in *Triadis Thaumaturgæ seu Divorum Patricii, Columbæ, et Brigidæ acta*, ed. Johannes Colganus, Lovan., 1647, tom. ii. pp. 274—280; also in *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Paris, 1626, ed. Thomas Messingham.

⁶ Some literal corrections, made on a further collation of the MS., were printed by Prof. Kölbing in *Engl. Studien*, bd. i. p. 186, and bd. v. p. 493.

copy has at present been known. Our Brome MS. supplies us with a second copy of the Cotton version. On comparison of the Brome with the Cotton copy, the differences between the two appear considerable, amounting in one case to the addition of 75 new lines from the new copy. Although, on the one hand, several lines of the Cotton MS. are either omitted or contracted, on the other the additions and the improved readings in various phrases mark the Brome, in some respects, as the better copy of the two. There are eighty-seven new lines in the Brome, while it omits or alters about the same number found in the Cotton MS. It has been impossible to give here all, or even most of the various readings, on account of their number; the words are inverted or the line re-cast, while retaining the thought, in innumerable instances: in many cases naturally the Cotton MS. offers the better sense. It will be easy for students to collate them; meanwhile, in order to make an approach to a complete version, the lines (and occasionally words) wanting in the Brome are here supplied from the Cotton between [], and where necessary to the understanding of the text different readings from it are given beneath. To facilitate comparison the lines are numbered on the basis of Kölbing's Cotton text, the additions being sub-numbered, as A 1, 2, &c., or 295^a, ^b; by this means the displacement or inversion of lines, in several places, is easily to be recognised at sight.

To account for such considerable variations it seems that the scribe of one, or perhaps of each manuscript, must have written down the poem from memory; some of the changes (it is not safe to call them in either case mistakes, not knowing which is nearest the original) are such as would follow from the recollection of similar phrases, as cues, which occur more than once (see ll. 302, 360, 395). Others would arise from a recollection of the ryme, or of the sense, while the exact words failed the memory.

It may be useful to recall that another English metrical version of this legend, differing much from the others, and in a southern dialect, has been printed from three MSS.,⁷ with variants from two others, by Dr. Horstmann, in his first volume of *Altenglische Legenden*, (Paderborn, 1875), pp. 149—211. Some of these MSS. are a little earlier in the fourteenth century than the Auchinleck MS.; but probably those two versions of the popular story existed side by side

⁷ One of these, MS. Egerton, 1993 (Horstmann, p. 175), is found as part of the *miracles* at the end of *The Life of St. Patrick*, in a collection of the Lives of Saints in verse.

before the Cotton and Brome type was written. On the general history of the legend, besides the article and references in *Engl. Stud.* i. pp. 57—98 (see *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, by Thomas Wright, 1844, and *Le Voyage du pays S. Patric, réimpression textuelle augmentée d'une notice bibliographique*, par Philomneste, junior, Genève, 1867, under which *nom de plume* M. P. G. Brunet has given a valuable sketch of the development of the legend and its bibliography.

- Fo. 28. Jesu pat ys moste of myth,
 And of wronge makyth ryth,
 Sendyth wyssemen vs to wysche
 The ryth weye to heuyn blysche.
 [Fyrste his prophetys, pat wer bold, 5
 Off pat was comyng, pey us told ;
 But pe folke pat were yn londe
 Ne myght hem not unpurstonde.]
 To teche hem more redely,
 Cryste com hym celfe woll preuely, 10
 And all moste 111 and XXXⁱⁱ zere,
 A stedfaste man that dwellyd here.
 Bothe in word and tokynys felle
 He tawte men ther sowll helle,
 Aftyr warde for manys good, 15
 He dede hym selfe vp-on pe rode,
 And bowth vs with hys bloody syde,
 Fro hym that was⁸ lorn for pryde. 18
 And or than he to heuyn wente,⁹ a
 Hys Apostollys forth he sente, 20
 To telle men of heuyn reche,
 zonge and olde, all a-leche.
 zet we and boschepys al soo,¹
 And holy precherys many moo,

⁸ Cotton has, "All hem pat were."

⁹ Brome gives l. 18^a instead of Cott. l. 20, "pat pey shulde pe folke amende."

¹ Cott. l. 23, "He hadde bysshoppus gode also."

That schewyd vs many tokenyng 25
 That he ys god and stedfast kyng ;
 Holy bochoppys sum tyme yer were,
 That tawte men of godes lore.
 In pe lond ² prechyd seynt Pertryke,
 In all pat lond was hym non lyke, 30
 He preched goddes wordys full wyde
 And tolde men wat schude be-tyde.
 Fyrste he spake of heuyn blysse,
 How-so go theder he go not a-mysse,
 And sythyn he spake of helle peyn, 35
 Who ys he pat comyth ther-yn ;
 Fol. 28 v°. And 3yt he spake of porcatory,
 As yt ys wretyn ³ in pe story.
 The folke pat wer in pe contre,
 Wolde not be-leue yt myte so be, 40
 [And seyde, but 3yf hyt were so,]
 But one myth ⁴ myth hym selfe gon,
 And syn all pat and cum a-geyn,
 Than many wolde hym beleuyn fayn.
 Seynth Pertryke hym be-thowthe, 45
 Jesu he than be-sowth
 That he wolde hym sum tokenys schowe,
 That in pe lond yt myth be knowe,
 That he myth throwe hys be-heue,
 Bryng pat folke yn a beter be-leue. 50
 Cryste ⁵ peryd to hym vpon a day,
 As he yn hys bed lay,
 Tweyn reche thnyges he hym 3affe,
 A boke of gspell and a staffe.
 With goode chyre pe bosschoppe yt toke, 55
 Bothe pe staffe and pe boke ;

² pe lond]. *Cotton*, "Irlonde." ³ As — wretyn]. *Cotton*, "As he fonde."

⁴ But — myth]. *Cotton*, "pat eny mon."

⁵ Cryste]. *Cotton*, "Our Lord."

- 3yt arn thes reche relekys 3owre,⁶
 And heuery heyr feste bere,⁷
 With full good devocyun,
 The boschoppys baryth prosesun. 60
 The herche boschoppe of pat lond,
 Schall bere pe staffe yn hys hand,
 He yat woll wete wat pe staffe hyte,
 Jesu p* staffe men clepete rythe.
 Cryste spake to seynt Partryke tho, 65
 Be name, he bade hym [wyt hym] goo,
 He led hym yn to a wyldyrnesse,
 Ther neyther man nor beste was,⁸
 And schowyd hym pat he wyll myth se
 Fol. 29. In to the erthe a preuy entre, 70
 Yt was in a depe dekys ende;
 "What man," he seyde, "pat wold here yn
 wende,⁹
 And dwellyn hyr-yn a day and a nythe,
 And howe he ys be-louyd¹ a-rythe,
 And commyn a-geyn, he note wyll, 75
 Meruellys talys he may tell.
 What man pat goth thys pylgrymage,
 I xall hym grante for hys wage
 Be yt man, woman,² ore knaue
 Oper porcatory xall he neuer haue." 80
 As sone as he to hym had seyde soo
 Jesu went pat bochoppe froo.
 Seynt Partryke went a-non rygth,

⁶ 3owre]. Cotton, "pere."

⁷ Cotton, ll. 58, 59, "And at euery festeday yn pe 3ere,
They ben bore in processun."

⁸ Cotton, l. 68, "Wher was no reste more ne lesse."

⁹ Wende]. MS. has "wynde."

¹ Howe—be-louyd]. Cotton, "Holde his byleue."

² Be—woman]. Cotton, "Whepur he be sqwyer."

He not stode³ day nor nygth,
 But get hym helpe fro day to day, 85
 And ded make *per* a reche abey.
 Schanons good he dede *per* yn
 Vnder pe counsel of seynt Austyn. 88
a Thus men clepyd pe reche Abeye,⁴
b Regelys *pat* hath pe same day.
 Seynt Partryke ded make full wyll
 A dore bowndyn *with* yryn and stell; 90
 Loke and keye he made *per* too,
 That no man schuld that dore ondoo;
 The key he toke to pe preyor,
 And bad hym loket as hys *tresor*.
 Ther he loket *pat* hentre thoo,⁵ 95
 That no man myth *yer* yn goo,
 But yf he wer at the seynt⁶
 Of pe preyor and hys couent,
 zyt fro pe boyschoppe he muste haue a letter,
 Fo. 29 v°. Or ellys he wer neuer the better. 100
 zyt ys thys stede yn rememure⁷
 Klepyd seynt Partrykys purcator.
 In hys tyme *sum* were ther yn
 To gette for-zeuenes of ther syn,
 And *cum* a-zen all on the morow, 105
 God *with* yem, toldyn of mykyll sorow,
 Of peynys that yey seyn ther,⁸
 [And of mykyll joye also.]
 Whath pey seyn woll pey wete,

³ Not stode]. *Cotton*, "ne stynte ner."

⁴ These two lines, which are not in the *Cotton MS.*, show that the name of the abbey was the same as that given in the Auchinleck version (see after, 1, B. 68).

⁵ *Cotton*, l. 95, "And eour close pe entre so."

⁶ Seynt, i.e. assent.

⁷ Rememure, i.e. memory.

⁸ Ther]. *Cotton*, "tho."

- For pey haith yn bokys wryte, 110
*Sum wentyne yn that bodyne care,*⁹
 And comyne a-geyne neuer more.
 In Steuys tyme, I vndyr-stond,
pat per was a knyth yn Ingelond,
 A knyth *per* was men klepynd syr Howyne, 115
 He was *per* yn and come a-geyn ;
 What he sawe *per* I woll yow telle,
 Bothe of heuyn and of helle.
 The knyth was a dowty man and a bold,
 A mo[n]ge men¹ mekyll he was of told, 120
 Tyll throw folly he fell yn synne,
 And long letyd hym ther ynne ;
 And aftyр-ward be-thowte hym sore,²
 And thowte of synne he wolde no more.
 To pe boschope of that cuntre, 125
 He went and fond hym yn *pat* sete,
 To hym a-non he gan hym schrywe,
 At hys myth of all hys lywe.
 The boschoppe blamyd hym yn *pat* hete,
 For hys synnys many and grete, 130
 And sythyne seyde at *pe* laste,
 That all hys lyve he muste faste,
 Fo. 30. For to a-mend hys mysse-dede
 That he hathe done and seyde.
 "Syre," he seyde, "I zow be-seche, 135
 As ze be my sowle leche ;
 A bone *pat* ze grante me also
 To seynth Partrykys wey to go.
 And sythyn qwhan I cum a-geyn,
 I xall fulfyll zowre word full fayn." 140
 "Seyrteyn," seyde pe boschoppe, "*pat* xall I nowte,
 For many follys thedyr han sowte,

⁹ Bodyne care]. Cotton, "bolde wore."

¹ MS. "mem."

² Sore]. MS. "sere."

So mykyll on hem selfe they troste,
 Wher pey be *cum*, no man woste.
 I rede the for they devociun 145
 Thow take abyth of relygiun
 So myth thow both nythe and day,³
 Serue god wyll to pay."
 ["Syr," he sayde, "y pe pray,
 zefe me lefe to gon my wey! 150
 I hope ryth wyll to *cum* and wynde,
 Throw goddes *grace* yt ys so hynde."
 The boschoppe geffe hym leue thowe
 A goddes name for to goo:
 A-non he worthe hym a letter wyll, 155
 And selydyth *with* hys howyn sell.
 The knyth yt toke and wente hys wey
 To pe preyore of that Abbey.
 As sone as he to pe *priowre* cam,
 Of hym pe letter pe *priowre* nam, 160
 He yt rede and stod full styll.
 Anon he knewe pe knythtys wyll,
 And spake to hym yn fayer *maner*,
 "Syr, pou harte wolcum hethyr,
 Fo. 30 v°. Be thys letter yn my hand 165
 I haue rythe wyll pi wylle vnderstond,
 But I rede not the so for to doo,⁴
 For grette *perellys* yt ys theder to goo.
 I rede the dwell her and be owre brother,
 And take abyte, and do no nother. 170
 So myth thow bothe nyte and daye
 Serue god [full] wyll to paye,
 [Then may py sowle to heuen wende
 And haue per blysse wyt-owten ende."']

³ Cotton, ll. 147 and 148—"And ȝyf þu wylt þy synne lete
 In þys wyse may þu heuen gete."

⁴ Cotton, l. 168—"Nopur for wele ner for wo."

"Syre," he seyð, "I felle my wytte⁵ 175
 For my synnys many and thyke,
 Thedyre I wyll, what so be-falle,
 To gette for-geuenes of hem alle."
 Than seyð pe priowre, "syn pou wylte soo,
 Jesu the saue fro sorow and woo! 180
 But zet a wyll⁶ *with* vs pou xalte dwell
 And of thow perellys I xall pe tell."
 Fyftene dayes he dwellyd ther⁷
 In fastynge and in holy lore,
 And at the xv. dayes ende, 185
 The knyth muste forth hys wey to wynde.
 Fyrste on mowrow he hard messe,
 And sythyn howsyld he wos;
 Holy watyr and holy boke,
 Ryche relykys forth he toke, 190
 Iche pryste and schanown
 Went *with* hym yn proseyssun,
 All for hym pey gan to prey,⁸
 And seyð for hym pe letaney,
 And browth hym to *pat* entre 195
 Ther yat syre Howyn wolde be.
 There pe knyth knelyd downg
 And toke pe priowrys beneyon.⁹
 The priowre on-ded the dore tho,
 Fo. 31. And lete syre Howyn yn goo,¹ 200
 And lolkyd pe dore and turnyd a geyn
 And they preyed for² syr Howyn.

⁵ Probably read "me wyke" for "my wytte." Ll. 175—178 are a good deal altered. *Cotton*, l. 175 runs, "'Syre,' he sayde, 'pu redest me well.'"

⁶ Wyll, i.e. while.

⁷ *Cotton*, "pore."

⁸ *Cotton*, "And as lowde as pey myȝth crye."

⁹ This line is imperfect in the *Cotton MS*.

¹ *Cotton*, l. 200, "In goddus name he badde hym go."

² They — for.] *Cotton*, "Lafte per."

Forth than wente yat bolde knyth,
 And wyll³ he had lytyll lyth,
 But he faylyd lyte full sone, 205
 For *per* schon neyther son nor mone;
 He had no-thinge hym for to lede
 He gropyd pe wye as he had nede.
 Forth he wente ferder ynne,
 A lytyll lyth he saw be-gynne, 210
 A lytyll lyght *per* hym be-fore,⁴
 Glad was syre Howyn *per* fore;
 Sweche was hys lyght whan yt was beste
 As yt ys in wentyr at the sunne reste.
 Whan he had lythe, forth wente he, 215
 Tyll he cam yn a grete cuntere.
 It semyd wyll for to be wyldyrnes,
 For ther was neyther tre nor gres;
 But as he be-hylde hym on hys ryth hond,
 A woll fayur halle he sawe *per* stond, 220
 It was hey, bothe longe and wyde,
 But yt was opyn on euery syde; 222
*a*⁵ Sengyll pyllerys ther-on were,
b That metely pe walys bare,
 Yt was made of sylkeweth⁶ gyse 224
 Lyke an cloyster on all wyse. 223
 As he stod and lokyd a-bowte, 225
 Ther com xv. men on a rowte,
 The eldes man gan for to sey,
 Fyrst he seyde, "benedicite!"
 Syr Howyn toke ther benysun,
 And all he hym pey setyne down. 230

Fo. 31 v°. Alle ther crownys wer new schauyn,

³ And wyll.] *Cotton*, "A whyle."

⁴ *Cotton*, "Sone *per* after a lytull more."

⁵ *a, b.*] These two lines in *Brome MS.* only.

⁶ *Cotton*, "selkowth."

As prystes be-falle wyll for to hauyn ;
 The eldes man of them all,
 Fyrste he spake as be-fall,
 "Knyth," he seyð, "for pi synne 235
 Gret perellys pou puttyste pe ynne,⁷
 But god, *pat* deyed vp-on pe rode,
 Full fyll thy wyll yn all gode !
 We may no lenger *with* pe here dwell,
 We wer seyth ⁸ hethyr pe to tell 240
 Off thow perellys *pat* Jesus pe ⁹ be-fall,
 God zeyffe pe grace to schape hem all !
 As sone as we be gon pe fro
 Ther xall cum other to do pe wo,
 But loke *pat* pou, throw thy be-haue,¹ 245
 Be stedfast yn pi be-leue ;
 And yf pey wyll pe bete or bynd,
 Euer more haue thys word yn mynd,
 Jesu ! god sunn full of myth !
 Haue mercy of me, pi gentyll knyth ! 250
 And hath euer more yn thy thowth
 Jesum *pat* hath the euer bowth.
 We may no lenger *with* pe preche
 But Jesu cryste we pe be-teche."
 Thyes holy men wente hym fro, 255
 And than be-gan the knyhtys wo,
 [As he sat per alone by hym self,
 He herde grete dynn on eche half]
 As all pe lenne and all pe thundyre
 That men hath seyn of myche wondre ;² 260
 And all pe tryn, and all pe stonys,

⁷ Cotton, "A grete aventur pu art inne."

⁸ We wer seyth.] Cotton, "But be sente."

⁹ pat Jesus pe.] Cotton, "pe shall."

¹ Cotton, "But loke py powȝth on god be styffe."

² Cotton, "That euer was herde heuen vndur."

Had row to-gedyr all at onys.
 In that wedyr so yt faryde,³
 Yt made syre Howyn sore a-ferde,
 And he had nowth be-tawte be-fore, 265
 He had be rewyd fore euer more.
 Fo. 32. Flyen myth he nowt, he muste a byd,
 They com yn on euer syyd,
 Wykyd gostes owte of helle,
 Ther may corage hym full telle.⁴ 270
⁵ Full pe howsys, rowys be rowys,
 And many stodyn *with* owte pe wowys,
 Summe fyndys gernyd and summe made a mowe,
 Syre Howyn wos a-ferd, I trowe;
 And summe fyndes *pat* stode hym by, 275
 Seydyn to hym, all on hey,
 "Thow haste wyll done *pat* pou cum here,
 Thus be-tyme to be owre fere;
 Oper cum not tyll they be dede,
 But thow haste a woll better rede; 280
 Thow comyst hethyr to do penawns
 And *with* vs pu xalte lede the dawns.
 Thow seruyd vs many a day,
 We xall the zyldyth yf we may.
 Thow hast be to vs a woll good knawe,⁶ 286
 As pou hast seruyd thow schallte haue. 285
 But neuer pe lesse, wyll pou harte hynd,
 Yf pou wylte a-geyn wynd,
 And gone and leuyn as pou haste down
 We xall pe sprer,⁷ tyll eft sunne; 290

³ Cotton, ll. 263, 264, "For all pe worlde so hit ferde
 And perto a lowde crye he herde."

⁴ Cotton, "So mony, pat no tonge myzte telle."

⁵ Ll. 271—274 much altered.

⁶ Cotton, "All py kynne shall pe not saue."

⁷ Sprer.] Cotton, "Spare."

Bettyr yt ys thy sowle haue who,	a ⁹
Than body and sowle all-so."	b
"Nay, seyde pe knyth, "pat wyll I nowte,	291
I take me to hym pat hath me bowte."	
The fyndys madyn a fyere a-none	
Off blake pyke and brymteston,	
And kyste pe knyth <i>per</i> -yn to brenne, ¹	295
And all on hym they gan grenne.	
[pe knygzth pat payne full sore he powgzth,	
To Jesu he called whyle he mowgzth,]	
Fo. 32v°. "Jesu," he seyde, "full of myth, ²	
Haue mercy on me, ³ pi gentyll knyth"!]	300
[All pat fyre was qweynte anone]	
The fyndys fledyne euery-schone,	302
And lettyn syre Howyn all alone; ⁴	
[And pen pe knygzth anone up stode	303
As hym hadde ayled nowzt but gode,	
All alone be-lefte yn pat place,	
And he ponked god of all hys grace;	
Then was he bolder for to stonde	
zyf pat pey wolde hym more fonde].	308
And as he stod <i>per</i> all a-lone, ⁵	
Oper deuelys a-bowte hym gan gone,	310
And ledyn hym yn to a fowle cuntre,	311
That euer ys nyth and neuer daye.	
Ther yt was both therke and colde,	
Ther was neuer man so boold	
That, thow hys clothys wer purfuld, ⁶	315
Sone hys thyrth xulde be colde.	

⁹ a, b, in *Brome MS.* only. ¹ Brenne.] *MS.*, "berne."

² Myth.] *Cotton*, "Pyte."

³ *Cotton*, "Help and haue mercy on me."

⁴ The *MS.* has this line in place of l. 302.

⁵ Lines 309 and 310 are also re-cast.

⁶ *Cotton*, "Hadde he neur so mony clopus on,
But he wolde be colde as ony stone."

Than felte he per wynd blowe,
 And ȝyt yt blewe bope hey and lowe.
 They ledyn hym yn to a fyulde brode,
 Ouyr sweche-on he neuer rode, 320
 The lenkyth per-of coud he not tell,
 Ther-ouer he muste, so yt be-fell.
 And as he ȝyd he hard a cry,
 And he lokyd what was hym by.⁷
 He sawe per men and women tho 325
 That lowd cryend fore who,
 They loyn thyke on euery lond,
 Fast naylyd, fute and hond. 328
 Vpward-there belyys wer cast,⁸ A I
 And yn to pe erth naylyd fast.
 The fyndys spokyn to pe knyth,
 "Syste pou how theys folke be dyth?
 But yf pou wylte to owper cunsell turne, A 5
 Hyre xall pou lynth and make pi mone."
 "Nay," seyde pe knyth, "pat wyll I nowth,
 Myne hope ys yn hym pat hath me bowth."
 A-none pe fyndys leydyne hym downe,
 To don hym peyne pi wer all bone, A 10
 Fo. 33. They fettyn forthe naylys stronge, 353
 Bernynge pat werne and reyth full longe,
 Whyll pat pey streynyd forth hys fete,
 He clepyd to hym pat ys so swete,
 "Jesu!" he seyde, "full of mythe, 357
 Haue mercy on me, pi gentyll knythe."
 The fyndys fledyn euery on,
 And let syre Howyn all a-lon. 360

⁷ Cotton, "He wondered what hyt was and why."

⁸ The nineteen lines (329, 330, 335—352) are replaced here by the ten lines A—A, the intervening four lines are here inserted in the account of the third torture (beginning l. 365).

And as he stod and lokyd abowte,⁹ 395
 Othyr delys ther comme on a rowte, 396
¹ And ledyn hym yn to a-nothyr fylde, 365
 Sweche a-nother he neuer be-hylde;
 It was lenger mych more
 Than pe tother he sawe be-fore. 368
 He sawe yn that fylde brode,² B I
 Many an edder and many a tode,
 Men and women he sawe thoo,
 That yn yat fylde bodyne woo,
 For they wer febyll and woll lene, B 5
 And loyne thyke one euery kyne.
 Hyre facys werne turny[d] to pe grownd, 331
 They seydyne, "spare vs summe sto[u]nd." 332
 The fyndys woldyn hem³ not spare, 333
 To don hem peynys they were full zare,⁴ 334
 Ther hedys yat wer wont for to be kempte full ofte,
 And one pyllowys layne full softe,
 The todys sotyne one euery herre,
 Ther myth men vetyne wat p[ey] were. B 10
 Edderys, todys, and othyr wormys,
 In hyr bodyes wer ther howsys.
 They leddyn hym yn to a-nother fylde
 The wyche was brodest yat he euer be-hylde,
 But ther was neyther game nor songe B 15
 Neuer with them a-monge.
 Fo.33v°. Iche man of hys turment,

⁹ The two lines which stand in *Cotton*, 361 and 362, are in *Brome MS.* found preceding lines 395 and 396, which latter are repeated here. Doubtless the similarity of the recurring phrases preceding them caused the error.

¹ Lines 363 and 364, here omitted, are;—

"Some of pe fendes turned aȝeyne,
 And forp pey ladde syr Owayne."

² Here follow (B) 76 lines which do not occur in the *Cotton MS.*

³ *MS.*, "hym."

⁴ *Cotton MS.* has yare (misprinted pare).

The knyth sawe as he went,
 He thowte ryth wyll to be-holde
 Men and women, ȝynge and olde, B 20
 — With schenys bernynge as the fyer;
 Many *per* hynge be the sqwyer,
 Summe be the tonges and summe be the chynnyys,
 Summe be the membrys and summe by the novelys,
 Summe hynge hey and summe hynge lowe; B 25
 Many he knewe that he *per* sawe.
 Summe hynge on hokys be *pe* chynne,
 Mykyll sowrowe *pey* hadyn for ther synne,
 As they haddyn hym ferder inne,
 A woll ⁵ myche wylle he sawe *yer* inne; B 30
 It was brod and yt was heye,
 And nedys to *pe* ouerest ȝend he seye,
 The halfe wylle yn y^e erthe ranne,
 And ther on hyngyn many a mane;
 Be-nethyn was fyer and brynstone, B 35
 That bernythe them euer a-none,
 Yt semyth a trendyll *pat* ran so ȝarne,
 Ryght as a stone of a qwerne.
 They tokyne hym be *pe* handes than,
 And kestyne hym on *pe* wylle to brene. B 40
 A-non was the knyth wyll,
 And ther he stoke stylly,
 A-non he klepyd on-to Jesu cryste,
 So *pat* no more herme he wyste.
 The fyndys seyn *pey* myth note spede, B 45
 — They grenyd on hym as woluyis in wode,
 All a-bowte hym they gan goo,
 They wolde fayn a-don hym woo.
 Fast *pey* hadyne hym ferder more,
 A woll mych howsse he sawe be-fore, B 50
 Fo. 34. The lenkyt *per* of he cowl note ame,

⁵ Wylle.] i.e. wheel, cf. ll. B 33, 37.

Owte of the dore comme a grete flame;
 There was so mych stynke⁶ and smeke,
 Yt wold a made an heyll man seke.
 The knyth stynted and yer-wit^h stod, B 55
 For pat stynke he was nere wod,
 The fyndys turnyd a-geyne,
 And gresely spake to syre Howyne
 "Why goste pou so faste and pou halte?
 Wyll pou wyll, forth thow xalte. B 60
 Syst thow now zyn grete gatys?
 Ther byn owyr bate fatys,
 Ther syth owre maystyr and owre kyngre,
 He ys full glad of thy comynge;
 Thow seruyst hyme full wyll at home, B 65
 He ys woll glad yat thou arte cumme;
 Syste thow thy home, wyll pou soo,
 Or thow wylte a-geyne goo
 A-geyne to pe gatys of Regelys,⁷
 Than may pou seyn pou hath byn at pe B 70
 develys."
 "Nay," seyd the knyth, "that wyll I nowte,
 That xall neuer cume yn my thowte,
 God hath holpe me hethyr be-fore,
 And zyt I hope he wyll do more."
 As they hadyn hym ferder inne B 75
 Ther he sawe woll mykyll on-wyn,
 As he lokyd hym be-syde, 369
 He sey ther pyttys many and wyde,
 Thykker myth they not byn,
 All but a fote them be-twyn.

⁶ MS. has "skynte."

⁷ The MS. has *relegys*: this form must be a mistake of the scribe, as the above reading is required by the ryme; it is also that found in line 88 b. The name of the abbey does not occur in the *Cotton MS.* *Regles* is the name in the second English version (*Auchinleck MS.*), see *Englische Studien*, i. p. 100. No name is mentioned in the first version.

Eche maner of metell,
 He sey yn pe pyttys wyll;⁸
 Men and women he sawe tho, 375
 That yn the pyttys bodyn full mych wo.
 Fo. 34 v°. Summe stod ther-yn vp to the chyn, 377
 Summe to the pappys and summe to pe schyn,⁹
 Summe stod *per* yn vp to the kne, 381
 All owte they wolde fayn a be.
 The fyndys hentyd a-non ryth,
 And to pe pyttys pey keste pe knyth,
 So sore a-ferd he was of that,
 Tyll almost Jesu he had for-rette;
 But sythyn wan goddys grace was,
 Whan he felte pe hoote bras,
 "Jesu," he seyde, *with* good yntent,
 "Help me, lord, yn thys turment." 390
 As sone as he to Jesu calde
 Ther was no metell myth hyme schalde,
 But all be-syd was caste,¹
 The fyndes fleddyne a-wey full faste.
 "Jesu," he seyde, "I thanke the, 361
 Euer at nede pou helppyst me." 362
 As he stod and lokyd a-bowte, 395
 Off othyr fyndes *per* camme a rowte,
 "Knyth," they seyde, "wy sta[n]dyst pou here,
 And all we byn felowys yn fere."²
 All pey sedyn that her was hell,
 But owther weyes we xall pe tell, 400
 Cume her forth yn to pe sowth,
 We xall the brynge to hell mowth."³

⁸ Wyll, i.e., well up, bubble.

⁹ Cotton has a line following 377; "And yet hadde pey noȝt bete her synne"; while lines 379, 380 are contracted into the present one.

¹ Cotton, "But anone he was out caste."

² Cotton, "And wher ar all py false feere."

³ Ll. 403 and 404 are altered.

- As they haddyne hym forth more,
 A woll mych wattyr he say be-fore,
 — That was brod and blake as pyke, 405
 Men and women ther werne thyke,
 — Fyndys stodyne on euery syde
 As thyke as motys yn somer tyde. 408
 [The water stonke fowle per to,
 And dede pe soles mykyll woo,
 Up pey come, to ese hem a stownde,
 pe deuelus drewe hem azeyn to pe grownde.]
 Ouer the water a bryge was, 413
 — Yt was glyddyr⁴ as ony glass,
 Fo. 35. Ther-of he was full sore a-ferd,⁵
 — Yt was as scharp as ony sward, 416
 The medys wer hey, pe endys wer lowe,
 Yt faryd ryth as a bent bowe.
 “Knyth,” seyde a fynd, “here may pou see,
 Loke to-ward hell the ryght entre, 420
 Ouer thys bryge pou muste wynd;
 Wynd and wether we xall the send,
 We xall the send wyndys wood,
 Thowe xall caste pe yn to owre flood.”
 Ther the knyth knelyd a down, 425
 To Jesu he made hys orysune,
 “Jesu,” he seyde, “full of myth,
 That made bothe day and nyth,
 Wynd and weder at thy wyll,
 For to blow and fore to be styll, 430
 Thow makyst the wynd fore to blowe,
 And whan thou wylte to be lowe,
 Send me here thy grete grace
 That I may thys bryge pace.

⁴ Glyddyr.] *Cotton*, *kener*.

⁵ *Cotton*, ll. 415 and 416, “Hyt was narowe and hyt was hyȝe.
 Vnepe pat opur ende he syȝe.”

- Helpe me, lord ! *pat* I nowte fall, 435
 That I lece nowth my travell."
 To the brygge a-non he *zydde*,
 "Jesu," he seyde, helpe me at nede ! "
 Hys one fote he sette ther vp-one,
 And klepyd to Jesu euer a-none, 440
 He felth [his fote] stand stedfastly,
 He sette a-nother fote *per* by,
 And klepyd to hym euer a pasce,
 That *zet* ys and euer was.
 The brygge waxyd a lytyll broder, 445
 So mych was syr Howyn pe glader,
 Whan he *comme* yn to the myde bryge,
 Fo.35 v°. Euery dewyll to other chyd,
 And all they setyn owte a cry 450
 For to a don hym fall from hey. 449
 The cry mad hym a-ferd more,
 Than all pe tother he saw be-fore,
 Neuer-the-lesse forth he wente,
 On Jesu cryste full was hys yntente.
 So brod was the brygge thoo, 455
 Tweyn cartys myth *per-on* goo,
 He com to pe end woll sone,
 Than was the develys pray⁶ done.
 He thankyd Jesu *with* harte and thowth,
 That he had hym ouer browte ; 460
 Forth he wente a lytyll wyll,⁷
 He thowt yt myth a byne a myll,
 He sey a wyll⁸ wondyrly fayre,
 That ran, hym thow[t], vp to pe eyre, 464
 He coud noth wyte were-of yt was 466
 In to the eyere yt was.⁹

⁶ Pray.] Cotton, "power."

⁷ I.e. while, see ll. 181 and 204.

⁸ Wyll.] Cotton, "wall."

⁹ Cotton, l. 465, "Hyt was whyte and bryȝth as glasse."

- [When he was nyȝ per at 467
 Agayne hym openede a fayr ȝate
 Full craftly for pe nones,
 Of metall and of presyous stones],
 Owte of pe gate cam a smell, 471
 All-most for yoy dow he fell,
 Thow all pe flowyre and all pe erbery,¹
 And all the wardly spycery
 Yt myth not smell be a hundre fold,
 To pat swetnes myth be tolde. 476
 Than was he so mery and so lyt
 Off that savor and that syth,
 That all pe peynys he had yn ben, 479
 And all pe sorow he had syn, 480
 All was for-ȝete yn hys thowth,
 Hym thowth yt grevyd hym noth.
 As he stod he was woll fayne,
 Owth of the gate cam hym a-geyne
 Fo. 36. And a woll fayer proseyssun 485
 Off euery man of relygyoun ;
 Fayer vestemens they haddyne vp-one,
 Swech sawe he neuer none.
 Woll mych joy yt was to see
 Boschoppys yn hyr dygnyte, 490
 And other maysterys per sey he,²
 Eche man yn hys degre.
 He say ther Monkys and Schanonys,
 And fryerys with ther brode³ crownys,
 And ermytys them a-monge, 495
 And nonnys with ther mery songys,
 Personys, prystys, and vekerys,

¹ Cotton, 473 and 474 : " As per hadde ben all maner of floures,
 Such was pat swete sauoures."

² Cotton, " Ilkone wente opur be and be."

³ Brode.] Cotton, " newe shauen."

They madyn hym many meladys.	
He sey kyngges and emprorys,	
Devlys, castelys, and towerys, ⁴	500
[Erles and barones fele,	
That some tyme hadde pe worldes wele.	
Opur folke he syz also,	
Neuur so mony as he dede poo.]	
And women he sey on euery syde,	505
That merthys madyn yn pat tyde,	506
[For all was joye pat with hem ferde,	
And myche solempnyte per he herde.]	508
All pey wer clothyd yn reche wed,	
What clothyn yt was coud he noth red,	
But schap they had on euery maner,	
As men wer wonte to were here.	
Be ther clothyn men myth them know,	
As they stod eche on a row,	
zownge and held, more and lesse,	
Off wat degre that pey wasse. ⁵	540
[Ther was no wronge but euur ryzth	
Euur day and neuer nyzth,	
— They shone as bryzth and more clere	
Then ony sonne yn pe day doth here].	544
Fayer they spokyn to syre Howyn,	509
All the folke of hym were fayn.	
A-non he gan metyn ther	
Tweyn boysschoppys, hym thowyt pey were,	512
And both they went forth hym by,	
And bore syre Howyn cumpany.	
They schowyd hym pat he myth se,	
The forest of that cuntre. ⁶	516
Fo. 36v°. It was grene on euery syd,	519

⁴ Cotton, "And dukes pat hadde casteles and toures."

⁵ Cotton, "As hyt her owene wyll was."

⁶ Forest]: Cotton, fayrnesse,

As medowys byn yn summer tyd, 520
 And all so full of fayer flowerys, 517
 Off many dyuers colorys. 518
 Tryn he sawe *with* leuys grene, 521
 Full of frute euer more, I wene,
 Frut of so many kynd
 In thys ward can no man fynd.
 Ther he sey the tre of lyffe, 525
 That they haue *with* owtyn stryffe;
 Fryuth of wesdam all so ther ys,
 Ther-of ete Adam and ded a-mys;
 And other frutys *yer* arn full felle,
 And all maner of joy and wylle.⁷ 530
 [Moche folke he syz there dwelle,
 Ther was no tonge *pat* myzth hem telle.] 532
 Thow tweyn boschoppys turnyd a-geyn, 545
 And fayere spake to syre Howyn,
 "Blyssyd byn they euery-chon,
 That mad pe thys wey to gon,
 Purcatory thow hate be inne,
 To do penans for thy syne. 550
 [Loke *pat* pou do synne no more]
 For Purcatory comys pou yn neuer more,⁸ 552
 We wote wyll where thow was,
 For we hau passyd⁹ all thow pas;
 So xall iche man aftyr hys day, 555
 Pore and reche gon that wey.
 Many hau hem for to schryve,¹
 Ner don penans of all ther lyve,
 But at the laste he comyth for drede,

⁷ Wylle, i.e., weal.

⁸ *Brome MS.* has *yn* after *more*, evidently an attempt to rhyme with the preceding line 550; l. 551 having been forgotten.

⁹ All — pas.] *Cotton*, *pat ylke plas*.

¹ *Cotton* lines 557 and 558 are altered.

- Summe [penaunce] to don they muste nede. 560
 [If pey woll nowȝth do here
 They shall do hyt elleswhere,
 Suche maner men, erly or late,
 To *purgatorye* pey mote algate.
 Ther mote pey dwelle styлле, 565
 And abyde goddes wyлле,
 But some frende for her mysdede
 For hem do *opur* synge or rede;
 For *pus* may man porow suche dyuynе
 The soner come out of *hys* pyne. 570
 And pu art monn zet a-lyue,
 And haste gon porow swythe,
 Thorow *grace* of god and good entent,
 Thow art passed *pat* *turnement*.]
 Thow *pat* arte *cum* to joy and blysse, 575
 We woll the tell wat yt ys,
 Ertely *paradyse* thys ys,
 Here yn dwellyd Adam and dede a-myse,
 For on appyll that he ete
 Fo. 37. Alle *hys* joy he for-ȝete. 580
 ix hundgred ȝere and xv,
 He levyd yn desert *with* sowrow and tene,
 iiij thowsond vj hundred and iiij ȝere,
 He lay ² yn peynys *with* Lussyfere.
 Aftyр-ward, th[r]owe goddys grace,³ 585
 He toke hym fro that fowlle place,
 And all *hys* kymre ⁴ was hym by
 That wordy was to haue mercy, 588
 [And ledde hem forthe *wyt* hem, y wysse,
 Ryȝth ynto *hys* owene blysse.] 590

² MS. has "layll."

³ *Cotton*, ll. 585 and 586, "Tyll *pat* goddes wyll was
 To fecche hym out of *pat* place."

⁴ *Kymre*.] *Cotton*, kynde.

And here we dwellyd at goddes wyll,	598
In joy and blysse to a-byd styll. ⁶	597
[But when we come hym byfore,	593
Then shall our joye be mykyll more]	594
And eche day we wax moo,	595
And Angellys fyttyn vs summe froo,	596
zyte haue we nowte pat dygnyte	599
To cum be-for hyys magyste,	600
[But oon and on, as he wyll calle	
At pe laste we shall come all.]	
Euery day cumme owre fode,	603
Fro hym yt for vs bled hys blode.	
That xall pou syn or that pou goo.”	
As he stode he seyde hym soo,	
Ther cam a gleme was wondyrly bryth,	
T[h]at spredde ouer all pe lond full ryth,	608
[Hyt was swote and hyt was hote,	
In-to euery monnus mowpe hyt smote.]	
That he sey on euery syd,	
He nere woste what he ded pat tydde,	612
Nor wyther he was qwekke or dede,	
So blyssyd hym that reche brede.	
Than seyde he to pe knyth pat be hym stod,	
“How seyeste pou knyth, was thys good?”	
“A! lord, mercy,” he seyde them there,	
“Lete me dwell ere euer more,”	
“Nay, nay, son, thow mayis notte soo,	
A-gen all-gatys pou muste goo,	620
[And telle opur men what pu haste sene,	
And yn what aventure pu haste bene,]	622
And yn pat ward deyen onys,	623

⁶ *Cotton*, “All ȝyf we be out of penance ylle.” Besides ll. 597 and 598, the two lines above also appear to represent lines 591 and 592 of *Cotton*:

“And at hys ordynaunce we be,
In joye and blysse wyt solempnite.”

And ther yn erth to bery pi bonys ;
 Sythyn pi sowll xall cum a-geyn,
 Ther-of we xall be full fayn,"
 The knyth sey he muste nedys goo,
 Fo. 37 v°. *With* wepyng and *with* wolle myche wo,
 A-non he knelyd ther a-down
 And fayer toke ther benycyun ; 630
 Ther a-none a-wey he fond
 Hom yn to hys owyne lond.
 To pe halle⁶ the wey laye,
 That he com by the tother day.
 The fyftene men he fond there
 That he had spake *with* be-fore, 636
 They thankyd god full of myth, 638
 That sent grace to that knyth,
 To ouer-cum pe fyndys myth
With pe grace of god full ryth.⁷
 They blyssyd hym euery-chon,
 And sythyn bad hym go hom 640
 In to hys howyn cuntre,⁷
 [For ryzth now spronge pe day.]
 For now the prime bell ryngyth,
 And sythyn messe xall they syngth ;
 And aftyr messe *with* owte delay, 645
 The pryowr of the abey
 Bothe *with* Prystys and chanowynys,
 That cum hym *with* yn prosessyone[s]
 To pe entre ther a-geyn ;
 " And of the they xall be full fayn.⁸ 650
 Be a good man all thy lyue,
 And loke pou do pe oftyn schrywe,

⁶ Halle] *Cotton*, hole.

⁷ Lines 637 and 639 of *Cotton* are expanded into these four lines.

⁸ There seem to be some lines missing here, both in the *Brome* and *Cotton* copies.

- And whan pou arte ded yan xall pou wende
 To pat joy that hath non ende.”
 The knyth to gon full wyll he lyste, 655
 He was at hom longe ar he wyste,
 To pe gate cam syre Howyn,
 Ther was pe priowr redy hym a-geyn,
 With schanowynys and with mery songe,
 And summe wepynd all wey a monge, 660
 [All pey wer both gladde and blype,
 pat god hadde saued pe knyzte a-lyue.]
 xv dayes and summe-wat more, 663
 With the chanowynys he dwellyd there,
 And told them wat he had syn,
 And wat peynys he had yn byn,
 Fo. 38. And oftyen he tolde hym to make hym wysse
 Off the joy of *paradyse*. 668
 [Thene pey wryten aftur hys mowth
 That yn londe now hyt ys kowpe.]
 Ther toke he stafte and crosse yn hond, 671
 And wenth yn to the holy lond,
 And cam a-geyn bothe heyll and sownd,
 And sythyn leuyd a woll good stownd,
 In bedys and yn oryson, 675
 As men of good relygyon.
 Whan he was full wyll of held,
 That hys body gane wax on-wylld,⁹
 He deyed and went the ryth wey,
 To the blysse that leste euer and ay.
 To blysse brynge vs he,
 That euer wos and euer xall be,¹
 That ys lord of mythtys moste,
 Fadyr and pe sunne and pe holy goste.

Finis.

⁹ *I.e.* wax un-wylld = grew infirm.

¹ End of the *Cotton* version.



THE LIFE OF ST. MARGARET.

THE trials and martyrdom of St. Margaret appear to have been popular in England in early times. Several versions of the legend, in prose or verse, are found from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries: four in Old English, several in Latin. The former have been printed by Mr. O. Cockayne;¹ and one of them, a poem, copied about A.D. 1330, was reprinted by E. Mätzner.²

The Auchinleck MS. at Edinburgh (date about 1310), fo. 16 *b*, contains another redaction, and a later one still is found in a MS. at Oxford, written about 1450 (Ashmolean, 61, fo. 145). These two have been printed by Dr. C. Horstmann.³ The story of the saint was also told in verse by Osbern Bokenham in 1445, among whose thirteen Legends⁴ of Saints that of Margaret stands the first.

Our Brome example is another copy of the Ashmolean poem; there being, indeed, not many years between the dates of the two MSS. The verbal variations made by the scribe are numerous, but not for the most part very important; but while, on the one hand, omitting two or three lines found in the Ashmole (which are here printed between square brackets), on the other several fresh lines are given (here marked by *a*, *b*, &c.), which are evidently omitted in the Ashmole copy. Unfortunately, however, the Brome copy is incomplete, stopping short at line 365 of the Ashmole, of which the concluding 253 lines are wanting. The numbering of the lines is made to correspond with that of the Ashmolean copy, as printed by Dr. Horstmann.

Fo. 39. **O**lde and yowng pat ben here,

Lystyn and to me clare

Wat I xall ȝow sey,

How yt be-fell vp-on a day

4

¹ *Sainte Marherete, the Meiden ant Martyr*, edited by Oswald Cockayne for the Early English Text Society, 1866. This contains three Old English versions; the fourth he printed in "Narratiunculæ." (See *Foreword*, pp. vi. vii.)

² *Altenglische Sprachproben*, Berlin, 1867, 1st Abtheilung, p. 200.

³ *Altenglische Legenden*, Heilbronn, 1881, p. 236.

⁴ Roxburghe Club, 1835. A recent edition, by Dr. Horstmann, with an interesting introduction, has also been issued in Professor Kölbing's *Altenglische Bibliothek*, Heilbronn, 1883.

Off a vyrgyn fayer and swete,
 Hyr name was Margarete.
 Hyr fader was a nobyll clarke,
 And a man that cowde myche warke, 8
 And a prynce of heye degre,
 No wordyer myth ther be.
 In Antyoeh he had a wyffe
 That was an hethen woman all hyre lyve, 12
 Hyr fader was of grete powere,
 And of all that cuntre governowre.
 False he was of hys lay,
 A-gens goddes lawys, pe soth to sey. 16
 Teodyus⁵ was hys name,
 A nobyll man of grete fame.
 Hyr fader yt knew long be-fore
 That a dowter he xuld haue bore, 20
 As the wrytyng hym told,
 That wan sche wax old
 That Crysteyn sche wyll be,
 And be-leve vpon pe Trynyte, 24
 Vp-on Jesus pat vs bowth
 And pat all pe ward wroth.
 He comawndyd long be-fore,
 That a-non as sche was bore, 28
 To deth sche schuld be browght,
 In wat wysse he not rowth.
 And hyre moder that hyre bare,
 Made fore hyr heuy chyre, 32
 And a-non as sche was borne
 Sche be-thowte hyre be-forne,
 Fo. 39^b. In to Azy sche hyr sent,
 A messanger forth with hyre went 36
 To a noryce that was there,
 And bad hym put yt to hyre to lere,

⁵ *Ashmole* has Theodosyus.

And toke with hym speyndyne, For to kepe that mayd zyngne.	40
The noryce hyr kepte fore soth yn dede, And euer cheryste hyre yn hyre nede ; Sche waxyd fayere and comly of chere, And of colowre fayer and clere.	44
All hyre lovyd yn that cuntre, Both olde and zyng pat hyre myth se. Whan sche waxyd more yn age, And had vndyr-standing and k[n]owlage,	48
[Sche toke here to crystys lore], And be-leuyd on hem euer more ;	50
To the fader and sune and the holy goste,	a
That ys kyng and lord of mytys moste,	b
That heuyne and erth all wroght,	c
To hym sche be-toke all hyr thowght.	d
The noryce that keppe hyr fro dysspeyere,	51
Had vij chyldryn that wer fayere, And wyll sche kepet hyr chyldryn vij, The viij was Margarete crystes mayd of heuene.	54
Talys she gowd will tell Bothe of heuyne and of hell, And how they suffyryd mertyrthum,	59
Both Lawrens and Stevone,	60
And wat they xulld haue to per mede,	57
As they deseruyd yn ther dede ;	58
And of other seyntes many moo, How they syffyryd wyll and woo, And how thye dede ther mertydam take, All for Jesus crystes owyne sake.	64
Fo. 40 ^a . Off many a seynth sche tolde pe lyffe, Bothe to chyld, man, and wyffe. Whan she was xv zere olde Sche was a fayer mayd and a bold,	68
Hyr moder hyr sette for to kepe	

In the fylde hyr faderys schepe.	
Hyr felowys ded hyr be-holde,	
Whan sche to Jesus preyed wolde,	72
How sche hyr preyore be-gane to make	a
On to Jesus pat he myth hyr to hym take.	b
T her was in that cuntre a kyng,	
A nobyll man of grete conyng,	
He was a prynce of myche myth,	
Olybryus that knyth hyth.	76
All Azye, as I zow tell,	
Wos hys owyn to gyue and to sell,	
Also he serwyd day and nyth	
Hys falsse goddes, I zow be-hyth.	80
He serue euer the devyll of helle,	
And crysten mene he ded qwelle.	
From Antyoche on to Azey,	
Be mylys more than fyfty,	84
Euer to dysstrow crysten men	
He ded hys pore euer than ;	
What <i>with</i> warre and <i>with</i> stryffe,	
He lefte but v. ⁶ pepyll a-lyfe.	88
Than yt be-fell vp-on a day,	
As he rode forth on hys wey,	
He sey pat lovely mayden clene,	
Kepe chepe vp-on the grene,	92
A-non he comandyd a knyth	
To feche hyr a-non ryth.	
The knyth wente a-non hyr too,	
Fo. 40 ^b . And seyde sche must <i>with</i> hym goo.	96
The mayde pat wos so myld of chyre	
Answerd hym as ze xall here,	
And seyde sche had no-thyn to do,	
Owte of hyr grownd <i>with</i> hym to go.	100
Sche preyed hym, fore hys curtesye,	

⁶ *Ashmole has few, not five.*

To passe hys wey and let hyr a-bye.
 And schortly hys tale to telle,
 He wente from pat damselle, 104
 And cam⁷ to Olybryus pe kyng
 And told hym all pat tydyng, 106
 That sche wod not hym cum to; ⁸
 For no thyng that they myth do,
 But they [schuld] with hyr stryffe,
 And hyr thr[e]te vp-on hyr lyue. *a*
 To Jesus cryste gan sche calle, 110
 That suffyrd deth for vs alle,
 That he wold hyr defend,
 Fro thow men that wer hynd, 113
 And be-sowth hym of hys grace,
 Hyr to sokyr yn euery place,
 And seyde, "lord, for thy love I wyll dey, 116
 And for-sake all thy werdely cumpany." 117
 Than spake syr Olybryus
 On to his men he seyde thus,
 "Off all the men that I haue here, 120
 That non of them can bryng hyr nere?
 And they hyr to me bro[w]th,
 Full sone I schud schonge hyr thowte;
 Sche schud op-on my goddys be-lewe, 124
 Or ellys I schuld hyr full sore greue." 125
 They went a-zen to that mayde,
 And on to hyr thus they seyde,
 "Thow muste come a-non with vs 128
 Fo. 41^a. On to owre kyng syre Olybryus,
 But thow come with-owte stryffe 130
 We schall rew⁹ the of pi lyffe."

⁷ MS. has "to cam," cam being interlined in the wrong place.

⁸ Line 107 in *Ashmole* rymes with the two preceding lines, and l. 109 *a* is omitted.

⁹ *I.e.* reeve.

Wyth them sche went, meke and styll,
 On to the kyng a-gens hyre wyll,
 And full fayer^e sche gan hym grete. 134
 He askyd hyre name, and sche seyde, "Margarete."
 He seyde, "yff thou be boryn fre,
 For-soth my leman thou shalt be,
 I wyll haue the to my wyffe, 138
 To leue yn joy all thy lyffe,
 Goolde and reches I wyll ge ȝyffe,
 All the wyll that thou may leue."
 Sche seyde to hym a-non than, 142
 "I wyll haue non erdely man,
 But for the love of Cryst alone,
 I wyll be baptyssyd yn a fonte stone;
 For sothe I wyll hym neuer foresake, 146
 For non erdely man to take."
 Than a-non to hyre he seyde,
 "We dede Jesus Cryst to deth,
 And dede hym streyn vp on ge rode, 150
 Tyll he swete watyr and blode,
 And crownnyd hym with a crown of thorne;¹
 Yf thou leue on hym thou arte for-lorne."
 To hym sche seyde a-non ryth, 154
 "Syre, he ys a lord of myth,
 And deyed on crosse for all man-kynd,
 For that we schull haue hym yn mynde.
 He rosse from deth and to helle wente 158
 The fyndys powre for to schente,
 And many sowllys he fete owte there,
 That long yn peynys were."
 To stryve with hyre he fond no bote, 162
 But dede hyre bynddyn hand and ffote.
 Fo. 41^b. And keste hyre yn presun strong,
 For to ouer-cume hyre with wrong.

¹ MS. has throne.

Mayd Margarete all that nyth 166
 In *presun* lay *with* mych on-ryth,
 And on the mowrow whan yt was day,
 They sente for hyr, the sothe to sey.
 They browte hyre be-forn Olybryus, 170
 And sone to hyre he seyde thus :
 "Margarete, be-leve vp-on my lore,²
 Or I chall the grewe full sore,
 Thy goddys that pou dost on be-leve, 174
 Schall not saue thee³ from my greve.
 Trow on me and be my wyffe,
 And leve yn joy all thy lyffe ;
 All Antyoche and all Agye, 178
 Aftyr my deth I geve yt the,
 Sylke and goold and purpyll pall,
 And I the wed, weryt thow xall,
 Wyll fyrryd *with* ryche armynge ;⁴ 182
 In all thys warlde ys *per non* more fyne ;
 [And with pe beste metys pat is in lond,
 I schall pe fede, I vnderstond ;]
 And Jesus Cryst pute owte of pi thowte." 186
 "Nay," sche seyde, "thyt wyll I nowth.
 Jesus wyll I neuer for-sake,
 Fro all that ys yn erth to take."
 Olybryus seyde, "yt schuld be sene full sone, 190
 Wat thy goddys wyll fore the done."
 He bad hys servanttys, as I vndyr-stond,
 Take and bete hyre, fote and honde.
 [The sergeantys dyde as he heme bade, 194
 They turment hyre as pei were made ;
 They bete hyre with scow(r)gys stronge,
 And turment hyre with grete wronge] ;
 They bete hyre, both man and wyffe, 198
 And faste *with* hyre they gan stryve,

² MS., "lord."³ MS., "me."⁴ *I.e.* ermine.

- Tyll the redde bloode fell downe,
 To the fote from the crowne,
 Tyll they wente sche had be dede, 202
 So faste on hyr they had leyde.
- Fo. 42^a. Than seyde Olybrys, ther he stode,
 "Margarete, thynkys thow thys good,
 Be-leve on my lord and be my wyffe, 206
 And I wyll no more *with* the stryffe.
 Haue mercy of thy fayere fleysse,
 And on thy skyne that ys so nesse."
 To Jesus cryst sche cryed than, 210
 That deyde fore the love of man,
 That of a vyrgyne was borne,
 For man-kynd schull note be fore-lorn,—
 "Thys peynys that I suffur and yn swy[n]ke 214
 Be full swete to me, as me thynke,
 All the peynys that I here dryve
 Be swetter to me than ony thyng a-lyve."
 Olybrys seyde to hys servantys thoo, 218
 "Sche gyffe no-thing of all thys woo,
 For all the peynys that I hyr gyffe
 Sche woll not on owre goddys be-leve."
 He bad hys servantys euery-chone, 222
 That they xuld turment hyre a-non.
 The *servantes* ded as he them bad,
 Lytyll mercy on hyre they hade,
With there naylys they gan hyre fleysse draw, 226
 Lyke as howndys had hyre knaw.
 Also hyre eyne that wer so bryth,
 They put them owte and marryd hyre syth,
 They ded hyre myche peyn and woo; 230
 They ded reue the skyn frome pe fleysse soo,
 Many of the pepyll that were there,
 In ther hartys were full sore,
 And seyde to hyr standyn there, 234

Whan they sey hyre so sore tere,
 And seyð, "fayre mayd Margarete,
 Fo. 42^b. That arte so fayre and so swete,
 Turne to hym and be hys wyffe, 238
 And no more with hym stryffe.
 Mayd Margarete, fore the woo haue care,
 And woll that pou sauðd were."
 "Aftyр you,"⁵ sche seyð, "I⁶ wyll not doo, 242
 But goo ȝowre wey me froo,
 All thoo pat for me do now repente,
 And se me haue thys turment,
 As thynkyd bothe good and ylle, 246
 They schall be qwytted aftyр ther wyll,
 The angell of Cryste cumme me too,
 As faste as he myth cumme and goo."
Than be-spake syre Olybryus, 250
 With wylde wordys seyð thus,
 "Margarete, I haue [s]weche poste,
 That blynd I haue mad the all moste,
 For be-fore thow haddys thy syte, 254
 Now pou haste non throw my myth.
 Trow on my god, thow mayde,"
 "Nay, for-soth syr," sche seyð,
 "For thy goddys pat thow be-levys on, 258
 They arn dom as ony ston,
 My lord to me ys full kynd,
 He schall neuer owte of my mynd.
 Yff thow haue pore of my fleysse 262
 To do pi wyll, both arde and neysse,
 To reue the skyne from the bon,
 Powre of my sowll gettys thow non."
 To hyr a-non than he seyð, 266
 [In depe prisone pou schall be leyð]⁷

⁵ MS. has *the*.⁶ MS. has *sche*.⁷ The *Brome* has, l. 267, erroneously, "We pute Jesus Cryst to death."

And yn *presune* thy body schall ly,
 Thy *payre* fleysse for to dystroy,
 Than thow schall be bowndyne, fote and hand, 270
 Fo. 43^a. *With* bondys of yryn grete and strong."
 "Jesus cryst," sche sayd hym tyll,
 "He may delyuer me whan he wyll."
 Fast yn *presun* they gan hyre done, 274
 The Angell cume to hyre full sounne,
 Be the *grace* of god all-myth,
 As the sune schynyt bryth :
With parte of the crosse god was on done, 278
 To that vyrgyn he camme full sone,
 And seyde to hyr *with* myld steuyn,
 "Blyssyd thow arte, *with* all that ys yn heuayne !
 The fadyr, pe sune, and the holy goste, 282
 Lord and kyng of mytys moste,
 Thys croce to the hath seynte,
 Thy enmyse there *with* to defend."
 Sche seyde, "lord, blyssyd thow be ! 286
 That thys gyfte haste sente to me,
 All-mythy god, I the prey,
 A bone thow *graunte* me to-day,
 That I may *with* syth them see, 290
 What they be thus turment me."
 The Angell bad hyre dowth notte,
 For to heuayne sche schull be browth,
 "Thar was no tunge that tell myth 294
 Off joy *pat* was made of the to nyth,
 Off all the meledy that ys yn heuayne,
 The, Margarete, for to wyffyne."^s
 And be the *grace* of god all-myth, 298
 Ther anon sche had hyre syth.
 The holy Angell passyd hyre fro,
 Off hym sche sey non moo,

^s This word is "neuyne," i.e. to name, call, in *Ashmole*.

- Sche lokyd hyre a lytyll be-syde, 302
 And sey a fowll dragun by hyre glyde,
 That of colowre as gres grene,
 Fo. 43^b. *With* fyre flamynge, full to sene,
 Owte of hys mowth brenynge bryth. 306
 Sche was a-ferd of that syth ;
 Sche fell downe on to the grownd,
 For fere tryndylld yn that stownd.
 He toke hyre yn hys mowth a-non, 310
 And swalowd hyr vp body and bon ;
 And whan he had so hyr doo,
 Ther he myth no ferder goo,
 But to-broste vp-on the grownd, 314
 The mayde came owte saffe and sownd !
 And as yt was, be crystys wyll,
With-yn hym sche had non ylle.
 But vp on the dragone sche stod, 318
With glad chyre and mylde mode,
 And thankyd Jesus of his myth,
 That sche had ouer-cume that fowll wyth.
 Sche vnder-stode wyll that yt was 322
 Throw the vertu of the holy crosse,
 That fowll Dragun was slayne there,
 Throw goddys myth and hyre preyore.
 A-non sche wente the dragone fro, 326
 And sey a-nother cume hyre too,
 A gresly syth fore-soth was he,
 So fowlle a beste myth neuer man se.
 To hym sche wente, I vnder stond, 330
With the holy crosce yn hyr honde,
 And smote hym so vpon the fynnyes,
 That he myth a-byde hyr dynnys.
 She streyffe *with* hym so long, 334
 That throw crystys myth so strong,
 Down to the grownd sche hym keste,

And *with* hyr wympyll bownd hym faste.
 In hys neke sche sete hyre foote, 338
 To stryve *with* hyre he fond non bote,
 Fo. 44^a. To hym sche seyde, "I cvnger the
 That wat thow arte thow tell me,
 For thow arte so lothely a thyng, 342
 Wat thow arte I wyll haue wetyng,
 For beste sey I neuer non
 So lothely for to loke vp-on."
 He seyde, "for thy lordys sake, 346
 Fro my neke thy foote thow take,
 I haue gonne wyd be watyr and be lond,
 3yte was I neuer so sore bownd;
 My rythe name hyth Belgys, 350
 For to lye non a-vayle ys,
 My broder hyth Resun that pou slew,
 In the world we ded sorow i-now.
 Brostyn and ded ys my broder, 354
 And thow haste ouer-cume me, I sey no nother.
 Whan we wer both to-geder
 We made the sone to sle the fader,
 We stroyed the pepyll day and nyth, 358
 And ded all the sorow that we myth.
 In a Dragonys wyce we wer sent to the,
 To spyllle thy wyt and make pe wod to be.
 The kyng Syr Olybryus 362
 In thys lekenes sente to pe vs
 For to stroye thy fayre body
With hys crafte of negramency."

PRAYERS.

NOTHING is said as to what was the special occasion on which the following repetitions were to be made; there is nothing else on the page.

Fo. 78 v°. In the worchepe of god and of owre lady and of all the holy Cumpany, he shall sey xv pater nosters, xv aves, and iij credys.

Also ye must sey in the worchepe of Seynt Ramayn and Seynt Barbera, Seynt Symond and Seynt Mawtholde, xv paternosters, xv aues, and iij credys; and thes must be seyed v tymys, that is, to nyte onnys, and to morow in the mornynge ageyn, and to-morow at nyte ageyn, and the nest day in the mornynge ageyn, and the nest day at nyte onnys; and ther is all.

DIRECTIONS FOR A TRENTAL.

A TRENTAL was an office of thirty masses, three of a sort, which were said for the dead, to deliver their souls from torment, according to Canon Rock on the burial day; low masses were said in the side chapels, and at all the altars in the church: a trental of masses used to be offered up for almost every one on the burial day."⁹ Bequests were frequently made for the saying or singing of trentals. "In 1480 John Meryell left . . . to the friars of Babwell, to pray for his soul a trental of masses, xs."¹ Sometimes a yearly trental, or tricenarium, was said for departed brethren. See examples from early times in *Ducange, s.v. trentale, and tricenarium*.

The masses of the trental appear to have been performed, sometimes all on the one day, sometimes on thirty separate days, one each on three days within the octaves of each of the ten feasts; and to the proper mass for the day might be added the *Dirige* (or morning

⁹ *Church of our Fathers*, vol. ii. p. 504.

¹ *Cullum's History of Hawsted*, 2nd ed., p. 16.

service for the dead)³ and any special prayer or prayers desired. In the poem called St. Gregory's Trental⁴ the virtues of this means of saving a departed soul are exalted, particular directions are given, and several additions are specially recommended for greater certainty. One of these additions is the *dirige*, but the prayer also desired by the Brome writer is not among them. The poem (of 240 lines) tells how his mother's ghost, in torture for her sins, appeared to Pope Gregory, and enjoined him to sing "a trentelle

Of ten chef festes of pe yere,
To syng for me yn pis manere ;
Thre masses of crystys natyuyte,
And of pe xii day opur pre,
Thre of our ladyes puryfycacioun,
And opur pre of here Annunciacioun,
Thre of crystes glorious Resurreccioun,
And oper pre of his hyz Ascencioun,
And of pentecoste opur pre,
And pre of pe blessed trinite,
And of our ladyes Assumpcioun opur pre ;
And of here joyfulle natiuite pre ;
These ben pe chefe festes ten,
That souerenly socouren synfulle men."

(Lines 104—118. Line 118 is from *Lambeth MS.*)

She added that they should be said "within the octaves of the feasts."⁴ The Pope carried out his mother's behests, which were quite effectual ; yet the writer rather inconsistently desires (as before mentioned) that a good many other prayers, which are named, should be joined to the masses.

The correspondence of the Brome trental with the trental thus ascribed to the authority of Pope Gregory will be remarked, and we may feel pretty sure that we have here a usual composition of this favourite Office for the Dead. That the rest of the form was variable, according to the wish of the person who ordered the masses, is indicated by this little record at Brome no less than by a will of 1448,

³ Called *dirige* or *dirge*, from the beginning of the first anthem at matins, "Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam."—Rock, ii. 503.

⁴ Found in two MSS., *Cott. Caligula*, A ii. fo. 84 v. of the fifteenth century, and *Lambeth*, 306, fo. 110, printed in Furnivall's *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, 1866, Early English Text Society, p. 83.

⁴ Line 124, with which compare ll. 144-5 and 231-2.

quoted by Ducange, in which the testator ordered a "trental de messes" to be said for his soul "le plus brief que faire se porra." But who it was at Brome or Scole who showed this preference for a dirge, and the prayer *Deus summa spes*, there is nothing in the manuscript to tell.

The "month's mind," sometimes mentioned in connection with a trental, appears to have been a day kept in *remembrance* of the departed a month after death, when a number of masses, probably a trental, was performed for his soul, and a dinner or feast given. "In Ireland," writes Sir Henry Piers, 1682, "after the day of interment of a great personage, they count four weeks ; and that day four weeks, all priests and friars, and all gentry, far and near, are invited to a great feast (usually termed the month's mind). The preparation to this feast are masses, said in all parts of the house at once, for the soul of the departed. If the room be large you shall have three or four priests together celebrating in the several corners thereof. The masses done, they proceed to their feasting ; and after all, every priest and friar is discharged with his largess."⁵ Compare this with Dr. Rock's description of the trental above. Payments for the feast, as well as for the priests, are not infrequent in old wills, churchwarden's accounts, &c. (see *Archæologia*, vol. i. pp. 11—14 ; Brand's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, ed. 1870, ii. 229 ; also Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, ii. 518 ; and Dr. Skeat's *Notes to Piers Plowman*, text C., x. 320, p. 198.

Spenser, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, l. 453, refers to the old state of things as past :—

" Their diriges, their trentals, and their shrifts,

Now all those needlesse works are laid away."⁵

These Directions for Trental and for Prayers (p. 119) are written apparently by the same hand which wrote the Accounts, Articles of Leet and Baron, &c., *i.e.*, Robert Melton.

Fo. 80. Trentals er comonly seyde xxxⁱⁱ massis and no derege ; they shulde be seyde with euery masse a derege, soo I wolde haue them seyde yff I shulde cavsse them to be seyde for my selffe, euery derege with this preyur, *Deus summa spes* : they know it that hath seyde trentals. The massis er thes folowyng ;—First iij of the nateuite of owre lord as of Crystmes day, iij of Epiphanie as of Twelth day, iij of the

⁵ Quoted in Brand's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, ed. 1870, vol. ii. p. 231.

purificashon of owr lady as of Candylmes day, iij of
 the Salutacion of owre lady as of owre lady day in lent, iij
 of the resurrecshon of owre lord as of Ester day, iij of the
 Assencion as of holy Thursday, iij of the holy gost as of
 Whyts[onday], iij of the Trenite as of trenite sonday, iij
 of the assumpcion of owre lady, iij of the nateuite of oure
 lady.

De nateuite domini
 de Epiphania domini
 de purificatione marie
 de annunciacione marie
 de resurrecione domini
 de assencione domini
 de pentecoste
 de trinitate
 de assumpcione marie
 de natiuitate marie

Of eche of thes, iij messes.

A CAROL OF THE ANNUNCIATION.^a

Fo. 79^b.

Newell! Newell! newell! newell!
 Thys ys pe songe of Angell Gabryell,
 Tydynges trew *per* be cum new sent ffrome pe Trynyte
 Be Gabryell to nazaret, sytte of gallalye.
 A clene maydyne, a puer *vergyn*, throw hyr hvmlyte
 Conseyvyd pe secund *persons* in devynyte.
 Wan he fyrst presentyd was be-for hyr fayre vyssage,
 With most demver and goodly wysse to hyr he did vmmage.
 And seyde, "lady of hevyn so hey, pat lordes herytage

^a This is in a hand nearly resembling that of the longer poems in the first part of the manuscript.

The wyche of pe born wyll be, I ame sent of message."
 Sodenly a-bassyd trvly, but not all thyng dessmasyd,
 With mynd dyscryt and meke speryte to pe Angell sche
 seyde,

"Be wat maner schuld I a chyld ber, pe wyche euer a mayd
 Haue levyd schast all my lyve past, and neuer man a sayid?"
 Than a-geyne to owre lady thus anseward pe Angell,

"O lady der, be of good chere, and dred the neuer a dell;
 Thow schalt rec[eue] in thy body, mayd, godes very selle,
 In owys berth bothe heuyne and erthe schall joye, emanuell.
 pat not zyt sex mothys past pi cosyng Elyzabeth
 That wos barend, conseyyd a chyld, trewth ys pat I pe tell.
 Sythe sche in age, qwy not in zowuethe, ze may conseyye as
 wyll,

Yffe godes wyll wome ys p[o]ssybyll to haue don euery pyll."

Than a-geyn to pe angell sche awnswerd womanly,

"Wat soeuer my lord comand me to do, I wyll yt abey
 mekely."

Ecce sum humilima ancilla domini,
Secundum tuum verbum fiat mychi.



Part 2.—Manorial Law.

INCLUDING FORMS OF GRANTS OF LAND, ETC.

Fo. 47 v°. THE FELSON BOOK.⁶

This is the felson booke for the Est Comonne of Stuston as apeurth her aftur, that is to weet:—

First the maner of How Margareth ⁷ for comenyng upon the Est comune of Stuston	ijd.
Item the prioras of Flyxston for comenyng upon the same comonne ⁸	vjd.
Item Nicolas Adham for comonyng	ijd.
Item Robert Clerk de Stoston for the tenment y ^t Burgat dwels in caled Elams	ijd.
Item Joh. Byrde for the tenment Lommys . . .	jd.
Item Willm. Hoberd for y ^e tenment Martyns . .	ijd.
Item Willm. Warnne for y ^e tenment Colydurs . .	jd. q ^r .
Item Joh. Wheymond for the tenment Adgor de Ocle ⁹	jd. q ^r .
It. Willm. Becket for the ponde yerd	ijd.
It. Joh. Chapman for y ^e tenment Roger Chapman .	jd.
It. Thomas Row for diuers tennementes . . .	vjd.
It. Alysaurd Bullur for the schepcot	jd. ob.

⁶ See Introduction, pp. 4 and 10. This list appears to have been written by R. Melton.

⁷ How Margaret's appears to be another name for the manor of Stuston, the parish containing several manors. (See p. 128.)

⁸ The manor of Falcons, otherwise Facons, in Stuston, belonging to the Augustine nunnery of Flixton (suppressed in 1528): see Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vol. vi. p. 594. It appears on the "Felson" and "Task" Books.

⁹ Oakley, or Okeley, in Suffolk, one of the group of Cornwallis manors.

It. the (? Dame) Clerke¹ for hyr tenment sumtyme

John Clerkes *jd.*

Fo. 48.

This is the felsson bocke of the West Comon of Stuston as
apeurth her after that is to weete—

First Willm. Warnne for the tenment F. Snow-

hyttes for comenyng upon the same comon of

Stoston *jd. ob.*

It. the same Willm. for the tenment Wheyberdys *ijd.*

It. Willm. Davy for y^e tenment Ropkyns . . . *jd. ob.*

It. John Cade for y^e tenment Water Caddes . . *ijd.*

It. John Calwer (Mr. R. Hoberde²) for ye tenment

Grenys Yerd otherwysse calyd Brockes . . . *ob.*

It. the same John (Mr. R. Hoberd²) for the ten-

ment calyd Brabys now R. Hoberddes . . . *ob.*

It. the same Recherd Hoberd for the tenment

Jordons *jd.*

It. John Cade for the tenment sumtyme Recherd

Osborns ner Ropkyns *jd.*

It. Watur Turner for the tenment calyd Barnerdys *jd. ob.*

It. the same Turner for the tenment calyd

Debnhams *jd. ob.*

It. the same Turner for the tenment sumtyme

Ballys *jd. ob.*

It. the same Torner for the tenment calyd

Chaundlers *ob.*

It. Robt. Smalborow for the tenment sumtyme

Andrew Smalborows *ijd.*

It. Harry Harolde for the tenment sumtyme

Harwys and sumtyme Clerson *jd. ob.*

It. Robt. Clerke bocher for the tenment Porsons . *jd. ob.*

It. the same Robt. for the tenment calyd Lewe-

reches *ijd. q^r.*

¹ *Mr. Robt. Clerke* is interlined.

² Interlined.

It. Watur Cowper for the tenment sumtyme	
Thomas Cowpers	jd. ob.
It. John Cowper for the tenment Rolffys sumtyme	
Styls, antea Wardes	jd.
It. Joh. Byrd for the tenment Frennys	jd.
It. Thomas Cade for the tenment sumtyme Nycolas	
Caddes	jd.
It. Recherd Edone for y ^e tenment Berkers	jd.
It. y ^e same Edone for y ^e tenment Roger Hoppers	ijd.
It. y ^e same Edone (Mr. Twaygth) ³ for y ^e tenment	
Roger Gyllysire	ob.
It. for the tenment Barthulmew Lelyes	ob.
[Summa] ijs. iiijd. qr.	

Fo. 49.

This is the bille of the Felson in Stuston.

Fyrst Robert Melton for the tenment Tomas	
Cadys	jd.
It. the Toune of Dysse for the tenment Clerkys	
and after Edon ⁴	qr.
It. Joh. Byrd for the tenment late Roger	
Cade	jd.
It. Joh. Moton for the tenment Rolffys, sumtyme	
styled ⁵ Warddys	jd.
It. Robert Cowper for the tenment late Watur	
Cowpers	jd. ob.
It. Recherd Hobard for the tenment calyd Grennys	
Yerd	ob.
It. the same Recherd for the tenment Jurdons	jd.

³ Interlined.

⁴ Blomefield mentions "the lands that were given by Richard Edon, in 1494, to pay the leet fee, or common fine of Diss, for ever, and to keep his obit, &c.," (*Hist. Norfolk*, ed. 1805, i. p. 36) as part of the town lands of Diss. This tenement in Stuston is identified by his name as one of these lands for which the town owed to felson, task, and church dues.

⁵ MS. *styls*.

- It. the same Recherd for y^e tenment Kateryne Taylers ob.
- It. Robt Clerke for the tenment Leweryche ijd. q^r.
- It. the same Robt. for the tenment Joh. Porsons jd. ob.
- Fo. 49 v^o.
- It. Sr. Joh. Harolde, preste,⁶ for the tenment sumtyme Joh. Clerson jd. ob.
- It. Joh. Permanter for the tenment lat Andrew Smalburo ijd.
- It. Watur Turnor for the tenment called Bawllys jd. ob.
- It. the same Watur for the tenment cawlyd Dobmanys jd. ob.
- It. the same Turnor for the tement cawlyd Barnardys jd. ob.
- It. the same Turnor for the tenment cawlyd Chalundlers ob.
- It. Joh. Cade for the tenment sumtyme Water Cadys jd.
- It. the same John for y^e tenment cawlyd Recherd Osborn jd.
- It. Roger Calthaw for the tenment lat Margery Ropkyn jd. ob.
- It. Willm. Waren for the tenment sumtyme Betrys Wheyberds ijd.
- It. the same Waren for the tenment sumtyme Thomas Snowhyte jd. ob.
- Fo. 50.
- It. the londholders of Recherd Edon (Mr. Joh. Twaygth)⁷ for a tenment in Thranston sumtyme Roger Gylys, ob. It. the same lond-

⁶ In A. Page's *Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller*, London, 1844, p. 487, it is stated that John Herold, Parson of Stuston, gave certain gifts to gilds and a service in Diss, in 1504. This must have been the same Sir John Herold, preste, above named.

⁷ Written above the line.

holders for another tenment in Thranston
 sumtyme Roger Hopers, *jd.* . . . Summa *jd. ob.*
 It. Joh. Cheweler for a tenment in Thranston sum-
 tyme Berthulmew Lyllys *ob.*
[Summa] *ijs. iiijd.*

THE TASK BOOK.

Fo. 60 v^o.Thys ys the boke ffor the holle Taske of Sturston.⁸

John Warne	<i>ijs.</i>
Item Thomas Cawthaw	<i>xvjd.</i>
Item John Clarke	<i>iiijd.</i>
Item Master Mynster chamber for Cadys	<i>ijs.</i>
Item Robt. Harrold	<i>iiijd.</i>
Item Water Turner	<i>xvjd.</i>
Item Thomas Parmenter	<i>xvjd.</i>
Item Master John Mynster chamber for y ^e tene- ment sumtyme Parsons Harrolds	<i>xvjd.</i>
Item John Clarke	<i>xvjd.</i>
Item Robt. Cooper	<i>xvjd.</i>
Item John Muttur	<i>xiiijd.</i>
Item Rychard Hubberd	<i>ijs. viijd.</i>
Item Thomas Byrde	<i>xvjd.</i>

Fo. 61.

Item Wyllyam Jesept	<i>iiijd.</i>
Item the towne of Dysse	<i>ijs.</i>
Item Thomas Jesept	<i>vjd.</i>
Item Robt. Popy	<i>vjd.</i>
Item the maner of (Stustone als. ⁹) How Margettes	<i>ijs. vjd.</i>

⁸ These two pages are in a different hand from the rest of the accounts.
 See Introduction, p. 10.

⁹ Interlined.

Item the maner off Facons	iijs. iiij <i>d.</i>
Item Master Robt. Meltun for the tenement late Thomas Cades	iijs.
Item the same Master Robt. Meltun for Jeseph	xvj <i>d.</i>

Thrandston.

Item Master Yaxflay for Edons landys and late Ropkyns	ijs. iiij <i>d.</i>
Item Pullam	vd.
Item John Qwayght ¹	iiij <i>d.</i>
Item John Cheveler	iiij <i>d.</i>
Item Wroo	j <i>d.</i>
Jaffery Row	ij <i>d.</i>

CHURCH DUTIES.²

Fo. 64.

Thes be the dutes longyng to the Cherche of Stuston as
apeurth her aftur—

In primis Thomas Jesope for ij lokys ³	j <i>d.</i> ob.
It. the same Thomas for plowshote ³	ob.
It. the same Thomas for Curtelage	ob.
It. the plasse late Thomas Cadys for a locke, halffe a bussshell of barly.	
It. for ij lockys	j <i>d.</i> ob.
It. for plow shot	j <i>d.</i>
It. for curtelage	ob.
It. the plasse longyng to the Towne of Disse for plowshete	j <i>d.</i>

¹ Perhaps Twayght, but the initial letter is not T.

² See Introduction, pp. 5 and 10. This list appears to be in R. Melton's hand.

³ See before, p. 5, as to *plow-shot* and *lock*.

It. for curtlage	ob.
It. John Burgat for a locke	ob. q ^r .
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. John Byrde for iij lockes	ijd. q ^r .
It. for plow shote	jd.
It. for curtlage	ob.

Fo. 64 v^o.

It. Raberd Cowper for the tenment nest Byrdys, lat in the holde of Chawercurte, for a locke	ob. q ^r .
It. for plowchote for one holl plow a jd., and di plow ob.	
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. Robard Harolde for the tenment lat watur cowpers for ij lokes	jd. ob.
It. for plow chot for one holl plow	jd.
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. Recherd Hoberd for ij lockys	jd. ob.
It. for plow chot for one holl plow	jd.
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. Rabard Clerke the bocher for iij lockes	ijd. q ^r .
It. for plowchot	jd. ob.
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. the tenment lat Smalborows for plowchot for di. plow obol	ob. q ^r .
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. Thomas Turner for iij lockes	ijd. q ^r .
It. for curtlage	ob.

Fo. 65.

It. John Cade for plowchot	jd.
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. John Pennyng for the tenment lat Raberd Clerkes y ^e bocher for curtlage	ob.
It. Will Davy for a locke	ob. q ^r .
It. for curtlage	ob.
It. John Kyng for curtlage	ob.

It. Nycolas Spray for curtlage	ob.
It. Willm. Warene for iij lockes	ij <i>d.</i> q ^r .
It. for plowchot	j <i>d.</i>
It. for curtlage	ob.

LEGAL FORMS OF PRIVATE CHARTERS, BONDS, &c.

THE following forms appear to have been copied from original documents, as among them are found the names of some well-known neighbouring places and of Lord Scales. The transcriber translated each one as he copied it, writing in first the Latin, then the English; probably the local scribes were none too strong in their Latin grammar, and it would be useful to be sure of the right form, when a legal deed had to be drawn up.⁴ The translation is very literal, even in the rendering of the historic infinitive, which becomes somewhat obscure in English, so treated;⁵ and occasional lapses occur, here

⁴ Charters, deeds, writings, "evidences, or mynyments that concern men's enheritance," "feates" as they were called, were from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries made by scribes, who formed a craft or mystery in chief towns, such as York and London. In 1497 the Company of Scribes in London ordered that every apprentice to their fellowship should be examined whether he "have his congruity in the Latin tonge or not," because it was found that many "have not had their perfect congruity of grammar, which is the thing most necessary and expedient to every person exercising and using the science and faculty of the said mystery; and in default whereof they cannot have the perfect knowledge and cunning of the said science, wherethrough oftentimes they err, and their acts and feates been incongruous and not perfectly done." The masters were accordingly enjoined to set their apprentices to Grammar School.—(Ordinances from the "Common Paper," quoted in *The Case of the Free Scribes of London*, 1749, pp. 24—27.) If the London scribes were thus deficient, it is not surprising that those who fulfilled their functions in the country should be glad of such aid as these forms and translations would furnish. It may be noted that several words in Nos. 9 and 12 were a puzzle to the translator, who left them blank in the English.

⁵ See Nos. 8 (b), 10 (b), near the beginning of each.

supplied between []. It furnishes, besides, one or two interesting English words or phrases, such as *mysse* = message (1); *dow-hows* = pigeon-cote (4); *feeding* = pascua (5); *stern*⁶ (*i.e.* stream) = stangna; *turve-dole* = turbaria; *plegys of corte* = visu franci plegii (5); *thowys*, plural of *thow*, = those (5 b); *ostey* = hospicium (11). "In to the wytenesse of the wych thyng," is the rather clumsy equivalent sometimes used for the formula "in cujus rei testimonium."

The Addit. MS. 24,844 in the British Museum (kindly pointed out to me by Mr. E. J. L. Scott) is a volume of the time of Henry VIII., containing a number of legal common forms of grants, &c.; but they purport, in nearly every case, to issue from the king or central authority, while the Brome collection illustrates only private or domestic law. The following is a schedule showing the nature of these twelve documents :—

1. Grant of a message in fee simple.
2. Grant of land and buildings thereon, with reversion to grantor, if grantee die without heirs.
3. Grant of a message on pepper-corn rent, to pass to a second grantee, on death of the first grantee without heirs.
4. Grant of a pigeon-cote, with reversions to second and third grantees, if the first and second grantees respectively die without heirs.
5. Grant, by a priest, of two messages with lands and tenements to four named persons, in trust for the father of one of them, with reversion after his death to the son and his wife.
6. Grant of a manor with its appurtenances, which latter are enumerated.
7. Summons in a plea of debt, on a payment not being fulfilled.
8. Bond for the payment of £10 on demand.
9. Grant of certain herbage, heather, and turves, *i.e.* the right to cut fodder and fuel on certain ground.
10. Bond for payment of £100 at a given future date, due for live goods sold and delivered at date of the bond.
11. Bond for payment of wages due to a chamberlain, and for giving him a yearly livery.
12. Grant by a man and wife of all their property in the hundred of East Flegg, to Lord Scales and two others, one message and eight acres only being excepted.

⁶ This, however, is perhaps a mistake for *pond* or *pool*, the true meaning of *stangna* or *stagna*, (*Fr.* *étang*).

Fo. 68. 1 (a). Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Galfridus Sprot de Sutton dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Ade Laurence de Walton, vnum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis iacens in Walton, inter terram Petri Alexander ex vna parte, et terram Hamonis filii Clerue ex alteri parte, et vnum capud abuttat super regiam viam, et aliud capud abuttat super terram Roger de Wosted; Habendum et tenendum predictum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis predicto Ade, heredibus et assinatis suis, de capitalibus dominis feodi, libere, bene, et in pace, in feodo et imperpetuum per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et ego, predictus Galfridus et heredes mei, predictum mesuagium cum pertinenciis predicto Ade, heredibus et assinatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium hinc presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, &c. Data apud Walton, die Mercurii proxima post festum Sancti Luce evangeliste, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum.

Fo. 68. 1. (b). All men presont and for to cum be a knowyn, that I Gafrey Sprot, of Sutton, hath 3owyn and grantyd and be my presont cherter ^{Thys dede ys of frysampyll, folowyng in englys.} hath confermyd to Adam lawroñs of Walton, on myse with hys pertinences, lyng in Walton be-twyn pe lond of Peter Alysander on pe on parte and pe lond of Hamonys pe son of Clere on pe tother parte, and on hed abutth vpon pe kynges wey on pe on parte, and a nother hed abutth vpon pe lond of R. of Wosted; To haue and to hold pe forseyd mese with hys pertynences to pe forseyd Adam to hys heyrys and to hys Assyneys, of pe schyffe lordes of pe fee, frely, wyll, and in pesse, in fee with owtyn end, be servyse per-of due and costum. And I, pe forseyd Gafrey and my heyrys, pe forsed messe with pe partynens to pe forseyd
Fo. 68 v°. Adam, to hys heyrys and to hys assyneys, a-3ens

all men xall warant fore euer more. In pe weche thyng wytnes to thys presont chertar I haue put to my sele, be thes wetnessys, &c. Govyn at Walton on pe Wedenys-day nex after pe feste of seynt Luke pe ewangelyst, and pe gere of pe reyng of kyng Edward pe iij^{de} after pe conqueste, pe iij^{de} (gere).

2 (a). Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Matheus Burgensis Cantabrigge, dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Willelmo, Duke de Cantabriggea, et Mabilie vxori eius, [vnam placeam terræ cum edificiis super edificatis]⁷ et suis pertinenciis in Cantabriggea iacentem in parochia Sancti Petri extra portas vocatas Trumpetongates, in suburbio predictæ ville, inter terram Johannis Moris ex vna parte, et terram Roberti de Caston ex altera parte: Habendum et tenendum predictam placeam terre, cum edificiis super edificatis et pertinenciis suis, de me et heredibus meis predictis W. et M., et heredibus de corporibus eorum legitime procreatis, libere, bene, et in pace imperpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis duos solidos argenti ad festum natalis domini, et dominis capitalibus feodi illius pro me et heredibus meis omnia seruicia inde debita et consueta. Et si contingat quod predictus W. ex predicta M. nullum heredem procreauit, post mortem dictorum W. et M. predicta placea terre, cum pertinenciis, mihi et heredibus meis plenarie reuertetur. Et ego predictus Matheus et heredes mei predictam placeam terre cum edificiis super edificatis et pertinenciis, predictis W. et M. et heredibus de corporibus eorum legitime procreatis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic, &c., hiis testibus, &c. Data apud W., die Januarii⁸ proxima post festum sancte, &c. Anno regni regis Edwardi, &c.

⁷ The words between brackets are omitted in this place in the MS.

⁸ This seems to be a mistake, it was usual to fix the date by some day of the week, before or after a feast, or else the reckoned day of the month.

Fo. 69. **2** (b). All men *presont* and fore to cum be a knowyn, pat I, Matheu Burges of Cambrege, hath *zowyn* and *grandyd* and be my *presont* chertre hath *confirmyd* to Wylliam doke of Cambrege and Mabyle hys wyffe, and to pe eyrys of there bodyes lawfully comyng, j place of lond *with* pe byldynys *per*-upon edyfyed and hys *pertynences* in Cambregge, lyeng in pe *paryes* of seynth peter *with*-owte pe gates calyd Trumpetoungates, in pe suborby of pe seyde Town, betwyn pe lond of John Morys on pe j parte and pe lond of Robert of Caston on pe toper parte: To haue and to hold pe forseyd place of lond *with* pe byldynys *per*-vpon edyfyed and hys *pertynessys*, of me and my eyres pe forseyd Wylliam and Mabyle and pe eyrys of *per* bodyes lawfully comyng, frely, wyll, and in pesse for euer more, yeldyng perof zerly to me and to my eyres ij^d of mony at pe feste of pe berthe of owre lord, and to⁹ pe schyffe lordes of pe fee for me and my eyres all seruyes *per*-of dew and coston. And yf yt happyd pat pe forseyd W. or pe forseyd Mabyle non eyres begotyn, after pe deth of pe seyde W. and Mabyle pe forseyd place of lond *with* hys *pertynences* to me and to my eyres [shall be] fulfyllid and retornyde ageyn. And I pe forseyd Matheu and my eyres, pe forseyd place of lond *with* pe byldynys *per*-vpon edyfyed and pe *partynences*, [to] pe forseyd W. and M. and to pe eyres of *per* bodyes lawfully comyng, a-zenns all men xall warant for euer-more. Into pe wytnesses, &c.; be pis wetenensis, &c. Govyn atte W. of pe day of Janyvere nexte after pe feste of Seynt, &c., and pe zere of pe reynyng of kyng Edward pe therd, &c.

Fo. 69 v°. **3** (a). Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Johannis Broun de Burigate, consessi, dedi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Ricardo de S. et heredibus de corporibus eorum¹ legitime procreatis, vnum mesuagium cum suis

⁹ MS. has "of."

¹ Sic plural, also in English.

pertinenciis in Preston, jacens, etc. Habendum et tenendum predictum mesuagium cum pertinenciis, de me et heredibus meis, prefato Ricardo [et] heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreatis, libere, bene, et in pace : Reddendo inde annuatim michi, [et] heredibus meis vnum granum piperis, ad festum Pasche, pro omnibus aliis demandis. Et si contyngat quod predictus Ricardus² obierit sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato, volo quod post ejus³ descensum predictum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis remaniat Waltero de Bardeweyth heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum ; Habendum et tenendum de capitalibus dominis feodi, per servicia que ad dictum mesuagium pertinent. Et ego predictus Johannes et heredes mei predictum mesuagium cum pertinenciis predicto Ricardo et heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreatis, ac etiam predicto Waltero heredibus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, etc. Hiis testibus, etc. Data apud, etc.

3 (b). All men presont and for to cum be a-knowyne, pat I, John Broun of Bery, hath grauntyd and ȝowyne, and be my presont chartyr hath confermyd, to Rychard of S. and to pe eyres of *per* bodyes lawfully be-gotyn, j messe with hys *pertynences* in Preston, lyenge, &c. To haue and to holde pe forseyd mysse with hys *pertynences* of me and my eyres, to pe forseyd Rychard to pe eyres of hys body lawfully begotyn, frely, wyll, and in pesse ; ȝeldynge *per*-of ȝerly to me and to my eyres j corne of pepyre at pe feste of Esterne for all owthere duteys. And yf yt happyd pat pe forseyd Rychard deyet with-owte eyres of his body
Fo. 70. lawfully begotyne, I woll [that] after pe dysses of hym pe forseyd mysse with hys *pertynences* remayne to Watere of Bardewyht, to hys eyres and to hys

² The MS. has Rec. ; but the contraction for Ricardus was intended.

³ The MS. has "ei."

asseyneys, for euer more ; To haue and to holde of pe chyffe lordes of p^e fee be all *seruyes* pe wyche to pe seyd [messe] perteyne. And I, pe forseyd John and my eyres, pe forseyd messe *with* pe *pertynences* to pe forseyd Rychard and to pe eyrys of his [body] lawfully be-gotyn, and also to pe forseyd Watere, to hys eyres and to hys asseyneys, a-zens all men xall warant for euer more. In to pe wy[t]nesse, &c. ; be pis, &c. ; gowyne.

Fo. 70. 4 (a). Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego, Lawrencius de W., dedi, consessi, et hac presenti carta mea confyrmaui Johanni de Foxton et heredi[bus] de corpore suo exeunti[bus], vnum columbarium, cum curtilagio [ad]jacente, prout includitur sepibus et fossatis in villa de W., et cum suis pertinenciis ; Quodquidem columbarium jacet inter terram Willielmi Coleyn versus orientem, et allyud capud abutat super terram Thome Waryn versus occidentem : Habendum et tenendum predictum columbarium, cum curtilagio adjacente et suis pertinenciis, de me et heredibus meis, predicto Johanni et heredibus de corpore suo exeuntibus, libere, quiete, bene et in pace, reddendo inde annuatim, michi et heredibus meis vnum denarium, ad festum Sancti Botulphi, et faciendo dominis capitalibus feodi omnia seruicia inde debita et consueta. Et si contingat predictum Johannem sine herede de corpore suo exeunte descendere, volo quod predictum columbarium, cum curtilagio adjacente et suis pertinenciis, remaniat Johanni fratri suo de Foxton ; habendum et tenendum predictum columbarium cum curtilagio adjacente et cum suis pertinenciis, de me et heredibus meis predicto Johanni et heredibus de corpore suo exeuntibus Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis vnam rosam. ad Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et facendum dominis capitalibus feodi omnia seruicia sicut predictus Johannes fecit. Et si contingat predictum
Fo. 70 v°. Johannem sine heredibus de corpore suo

exeuntibus discedere, volo quod predictum columbarium, cum curtilagio adjacente, provt includitur sepibus et fossatis et suis pertinenciis, remaniat Waltero de Loke heredibus et assinatis suis, imperpetuum, Habendum et tenendum predictum columbarium, cum curtilagio adjacente et cum suis pertinenciis, de capitalibus dominis feodi per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et ego predictus Laurencius et heredes mei, predictum columbarium cum curtilagio adjacente et cum suis pertinenciis, predicto Johanni et Johanni et heredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, et predicto Waltero, heredibus ejus et assinatis suis, in forma prenotata contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium his testibus, &c. Dat., &c.

Fo. 70 v°. 4 (b). All men *presont* and for to *cum* be a knowyn, pat I, Lawrens of W., hath *gowyn* and grantyd and be my *presont* charter hath *confermyd*, to John of Foxtune, and to pe eyres of hys bodi be-gotyn, j dowhows *with* pe curtlyge lyenge-to, as yt ys in-closyd *with* hedgys and dechys, in pe Town of W., and *with* hys *pertynens*; pe wych dowhows lyth be-twyne pe lond of W. of B. on pe on *parte*, and pe lond of John of W. on pe tothere *parte*, and on hed abuttyt vpon pe lond of wylliam Coleyn toward pe este, and a-nothere hed abuttyt vpon pe lond of Thomas Waryn toward pe weste: To haue and to hold pe forseyd dowhows *with* pe curlyche lyenge-to and hys *pertynens*, of me and myn eyres to pe forsed John and to pe eyres of hys bodie begotyn, frely, quiette, wyll, and in pesse, zeldynge *per-of* zerly to me and to myn eyres *jd.* ate pe feste of seynt Botholl, and to doo to pe schyffe lordes of pat fee all servyes *per-of* dew and custon. And yf yt

Fo. 71. happyd pat pe forseyd John dessesse *with-owt* eyrys of hys body be-gotyn, I woll pat pe forseyd dowhows *with* pe curtlege lyeng to and hys *pertinences* remayne to John hys broder of Foxton; To haue and to

holde pe forseyd dowhows, with pe corlege lyeng-to and with hys pertynences, of me and my eyrys to pe forseyd John and to pe eyrys of hys body be-gotyn, geldyng perof 3erly to me and to my eyrys j rosse at pe Natyvite of seynth John pe Baptysyd. And to make of pe chyffe lordes of pe fee all seruyce as pe forseyd John hath donne. And yf yt happyd pat pe forseyd John dyssesce with [out] eyrys of hys body be-gotyn, I woll pat ye forseyd dowhowsse with pe cortlege lyyng-to as yt ys in-closyd with hedges & deges and hys pertynences remayne to Water of Loke, to hys eyrys and to hys assyneys, with owtyn end; To haue and to hold pe forseyd dowhows with pe corlage lyenge-to and with hys pertynences, of pe chyffe lordes of pe fee be pe seruys perof dew and custum. And I pe forseyd Lawrons and myn eyrys pe forseyd dowhows with pe corlage lyyng-to and with hys pertynences, to pe forseyd John and John, and to pe eyrys of ther bodyes begotyn. And to pe forseyd Water to hys eyrys and to hys asseyneys, in forme a-bothe⁶ notyd a-zens all men [warrant for ever], &c.

Fo. 71. 5 (a). Sciant presentes et futuri, quod Ego dominus Johannes Smyth capellanus, dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui, Willelmo B. juniore, filio Willelmi B. senioris, de E., et A. vxori sue, Johannes B. et Thome S., heredibus et eorum assignatis, Omnia illa mesuagia, terras, tenementa, cum omnibus et singulis eorum pertinenciis, in villis de E. W. et A. et condam Fo. 71 v°. fuerunt Willelmi M. Ac eciam totum illud mesuagium edificatum, ac omnia terras, tenementa, prata, pasturas, pascuas, cum omnibus eorum pertinenciis, jacencia, et situata in villis et campis de E. predicta, et W., et nuper fuerunt Willelmi A. de Norwico, et que nuper hujusmodi ex dono, concessione, et con-

⁶ I.e. above.

firmacione Willelmi B. senioris patris dicti Willelmi B. junioris provt per cartam ejusdem Willelmi B. michi nuper inde confectam manifeste apparet. Habendum et tenendum omnia et singula supradicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa, prata, pascuas, pasturas, & cetera premissa, cum eorum pertinenciis, prefatis Willelmo B. juniore et A. vxori sue, Johanni B. et Thome S., heredibus et eorum assignatis, ad vsum dicti Willelmi B. senioris, videlicet ad totam vitam ipsius Willelmi, de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum, per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta. Et quod post mortem sepedicti Willelmi B. senioris, omnia et singula supradicta mesuagia, terre, tenementa, prata, pascue, et pasture, cum seteris premissis, et eorum partium remaniant prenominatis Willelmo B. juniore, et A. vxori sue. Habendum et tenendum sibi et heredibus de eorum corporibus legitime procreatis et procreandis de capitalis dominis feodorum illorum, per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta, Sicut pro defectu heredum dictorum Willelmi B. junioris et A. vxoris sue quod omnia et singula supradicta mesuagia, terre, tenementa, prata, pascue, pasture, cum seteris premissis et eorum pertinenciis remaniant rectis heredibus sepedicti Willelmi B. senioris, tenendum sibi heredibus et assignatis suis de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta imperpetuum, per presentes, In cujus rei testimonium utrique parti hujus carte indentate Ego, dominus Johannes Smyth, capellanus, sigillum meum apposui: hiis testibus, &c. Data apud E. predictam, &c.

Fo. 71 v°. 5 (b). All men beyng present and for to cum
 be a knowyne, pat I syr John Smyth, pryste,
 Fo. 72. hath zowyne and grantyd and be my present
 Chartyr confermyd to W. B. pe zownger, sonne
 of W. B. the elder, of E, and A. hys wyffe, [to] J. B. [and]
 T. P., to pe eyrys and seyneys of them, all thowys myssys,

londes, tenementes, with all and iche of ther pertynans, in the Townys of E. W. and A., and sumtyme werne William M., and also all pat holl mysse edyfyed, and all londes, tenementes, medowys, pasturys, fedynges,⁵ with all thyr pertynences lyyng and edyfyed in pe Townys and fylldes of E forseyd and W, and late worne William A. of N., and pe wych late I have had of that gyfte, grantyd, and confymacone of W. B. pe elder, fader of seyde W. B. pe zownger, as be dede of pe same W. B. to me late per-of made manyfestly apperyt. To haue and to hoold all and iche a-bothe⁶-seyd myssys, londes, tenementes, medowys, fedynges, pasturys, and the oder premecces with per pertynences, to be-for-namyd William B. pe zownger, and A. hys wyffe, J. B. and T. P., to pe eyrys and seyneys of them on to pe evse of pe seyde William B. pe elder, pat ys to sey on to pe holl lyffe of pe same William, of pe chyffe lordes of thow feys be pe serueys per-of dew [and] custum of ryte. And pat after pe deth of pe oftyn[ty]mys seyde William B. pe elder, all and iche a-both seyde myssis, londes, tenementes, medowys, fedynges, pasturys, with pe oder premyces and per pertynans, xall remayne to be-for-namyd William B. pe zownger and A. hys wyffe; To haue & to hoold to hem and to pe eyrys of per bodyes lawfully comyng and for to cum, of pe chyffe lordes of thow feys, be seruyes per-of dew & custum of ryth. So for pe defa[u]lte of pe eyrys of pe seyde William B. zynger and A. hys wyffe, that all and iche a-bothe seyde mysses, londes, tenementes, medowys, fedynges, & pasturys, with pe oder premyces and per pertynences, xall remayne to pe ryth eyrys of pe oftyntymys seyde William B.

⁵ The difference between *pastura* and *pascua* is shown in this translation. Lindwood, speaking of tithes, says that a *pasture* is any kind of feeding-ground, whether in meadow, stubble, or field; but that *pascua* is a place chiefly devoted to feeding sheep, as on hills, moors, and uncultivated ground.— See Ducange, s.v. *pastura*.

⁶ *I.e.* above.

pe elder ; To hoold to hem to [per] heyr[ys] and seyneys of pe schyffe &c.⁷ for euer more. In to pe wytenesces of pe whych to eyther party of thys dede ind[e]ntyd I be-for namyd syre John Smyth, hath putte-to my sele be thys, &c., zouyn at E. forseyd.

Fo. 72 v°. **6** (a). Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego, Petrus⁸ Gardener de Hopton, dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Johanni de M., heredibus et assignatis suis, manerium meum de Cryssy[n]gham cum omnibus suis pertinentis in comitatu Lyncolnie, vt in pratis, pascuis, pasturis, viis, semitis, boscis, planis, moris, fossatis, turbariis, aquis, stangnis, ripariis, gardinis, curtilagiis, wardis, releuiis, maritagiis, hamonis,⁹ redditibus, assisis, consuetudinibus, serviciis, libertatibus, aysiamentis, escaetis, visu franciplegiis, reconcionibus, cum libero ingressu et egressu, infra villam et extra, cum omnibus alliis rebus, comoditatibus, proficuis, ad predictum manerium meum quouis modo pertinentibus : Habendum et tenendum dictum manerium cum suis pertinenciis de capitalibus dominis feodi, libere, integre, bene et in pace, dicto Johanni heredibus et assignatis suis, per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et ego, predictus Petrus et heredes mei, predictum manerium cum suis pertinenciis vt supradictum est, dicto Johanni heredibus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei, &c.

6 (b). All men beyng present and for to cum xall know, pat I, Peter¹ Gardener of Hopton, hath zowyn and grantyd and be my present chartyr hath confermyd to John of W.,

⁷ The translator, being near the bottom of the page, is here content to let an &c. express some necessary repetition : "dominis — consueta."

⁸ Johannes in the MS., but see below.

⁹ This word should be "homagiis." See the English.

¹ John in the MS. The same mistake was made in copying the Latin charter ; plainly the copyist translated from his own copy, instead of the original.

to hym² and to hys asseyneys, my maner of Cryssygham with all hys pertinences in pe cownty of Lyncoln, as in medowys, fedynges, pasturys, weyes, bypathys, woodes, playnys, mores, hegys, tvruedollys, watyrys, stermys, reverys, gardenys, curleges, wardys, relyvyes, maryages, hommages, rentes, sysys, custumys, servyes, lyberteys, esementes, exschetes, plegys of corte, knowlages, with pe lyberte of in-gate and owtte with-in pe Town and with-owte, with all other thynges, cometyteys, profytes on to pe forseyd my maner, ony maner of wey perteynyng: To haue and to holde pe forseyd maner with hys pertynences of the Fo. 73. chyffe lordes of the ffee, ffirely, holl, wylle, and in pesse, to the seyde John, to hys eyrys and to hys assyneys, be pe servyes ther-of dew & custum. And I, the fforseyd Peter and my eyrys, the forseyd maner with hys pertynences as yt ys a-bothe seyde, to the seyde John to hys eyrys and to hys assyneys, a-zens all men schall warant for euer more. Into the wettenesse of pe wych thynges, &c.

Fo. 73. 7 (a). Thomas Myngy summonitus fuit ad respondendum Edmundo Tunsted in placito debiti, quod reddet ei viginti vnum solidos quos ei debuit et injuste detinet. Et vnde idem querens per Johannem O. attornatum suum, dicit quod vicesimo-quarto die Januarii anno regni regis Henrici vij^{mi} quinto apud T. infra jurisdictionem hujus cur[i]e, predicti Thomas et Edmundus insimul computaverunt inter se super diuersis debitis et pecuniarum summis per prefatum Thomam de predicto Edmundo per antea habitis et receptis, Super quoquidem compoto predictus Thomas inventus fuit in areragis et claris debitis, erga predictum Edmundum in vinginti vnum solidis soluendis eidem Edmundo quandocunque inde requisitus fuisset per eundem Edmundum, predictus tamen Edmundus licet sepius requisitus fuisset de solucione dictorum viginti

² MS. has "hys."

vnius solidorum per dictum Thomam, idem Thomas eidem Edmundo nondum reddidit, sed illos ei reddere contradixit et adhuc contradicit. Vnde idem Edmundus dicit deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valenciam sex solidorum et octo dinariorum, costas sectæ tres solidos et quatuor dinarios, et vnde producit sectam, etc.

7 (b). Thomas Myngy was summund on to ansswere to Edm. Tunsted in a ple of det, that he schuld Fo.73v°. 3yld to hym xxjs. the wyche he to hym owth and on-trewly *with*-hold; and wer-vpon the seyde pleyntyffe, be John O. hys attorney, seyth that the xxiiij day of Jenyvere and the 3ere and reyn of king Herry the vijth the v^{te} 3ere, at T. *with*-in the jurdyxyun of [t]hys curt, that the for seyde Thomas and Edm. to-gedyr hath [reckoned] be-twyn themselfe, vpon dyuers dettes and summys of mony be the forseyd Thomas of the forseyd Edms. be-for had and rec[eived], vpon the wych cownt the forseyd Thomas was fownd in a-rerage and clere dette a-gens the forseyd Edm. in xxjs., to be payid to pe seyde Edm. wane-someuer he wer requeryed be the forseyd Edm. Neuer-the-lesse all-thow 3e for-seyd Edm. oftyn-tymys hath requeryd hym for the payment of the said xxjs., the same Thomas to pe seyde Edm. hath not 3yt content nor payid, but the same xxjs. to hym hath denyed to pay and 3yt denyeth. Were-for the seyde Edm. seyth that he ys hurt and harmyd be that vn-to the valew of vjs. viij*d*. and the costes of sute iij*s*. iiij*d*., and ther-vpon prosedyth pe sewte.

8 (b). Nouerint vniversi, me Willelmum T. de O. teneri et per presentes firmiter obligari Thome Foxton de S. in decem libris legalis monete, soluendis eidem Thome aut suo certo attornato in festo omnium sanctorum proximo futuro post datum presentium sine dilacione vltiori, ad

quam quidem solucionem vt predictum est faciendum obligo me, heredes et executores meos, per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Data apud O. predicto, in festo sancte Thome apostoli, anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum vicesimo nono.

Fo. 74. **8** (b). Be yt a known to all pepyll, me, Wyllm. T. of O., to be hold and be thys presont wrytyng ffeythfully to be bound to Thomas [Foxton] of Sudebery in xli. of lavfull mony, to be payid to the same Thomas or to his certeyne attorneyis at the fest of all Seyntes nex comyng after the date of thys presont wryttyn, with owt ony ferder delae; to pe wych payment as ys be-for I bynd me my eyrys and my executors be thys present. In to the wytenesse of the wych thyng presentyd, I haue put to my sell. 30wyne at O. the forseyd, in the ffest of Seynth Thomas the Postyll, the 3ere of the reyne of kyng Herry the sexth after the conquest [twenty-ninth].

9 (a). Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego, Robertus Thed de Terrynton, dedi, consessi, et [h]ac presenti carta mea confirmaui Johanni Collys de eadem villa, heredibus et assinatis suis, tres rodes erbarii, bruarii et turbare, jacentes in quodam loquo vocato Brakynholme, inter gerbar' bruar' et turbare³ Willelmi Tunsted ex parte australe, erbar' bruar' et turbar' nuper Thome Greyn ex parte aquilonario, et abuttat super comunam de Terryntun versus occidentem, et super pasturam nuper Roberti Clarke versus orientem: habendum et tenendum predictas tres rodes erbarii, bruar' et turbar', cum suis pertinenciis prefato John Collys, heredibus et assinatis suis, de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum, per seruicia inde debita et de jure consueta. Et ego, predictus Robertus et heredes mei, predictas tres rodes

³ The gender and inflexion of these three words is uncertain. They are printed here as they are written, without attempting to extend them.

erbarii, bruar' et turbâr', cum suis pertinenciis prefati Johanni Collys, heredibus et assingnatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carta sigillum meum appossui; hiis testibus Johanne Man, Johanne Rekessond, Johanne Knyt, et alliis. Data apud Terrynton predictam, sexta die mencis Januarii, anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum tricesimo primo.

Fo. 74 v°. 9 (b). All men beynge present and for to cum schall know, that I Robert Thed of Terrynton, hath zowyne and grantyd and be my present charter hath confermyd, to John Collys of the same Towne, to hys eyres and to hys assyneys, iij rodys of [herbage, heather,]⁴ and Turve dollys lyth in the wych place callyd Brakynholme betwyne [herbage, heather], and turvedollys of Wylliam Tunsted of the parte of pe sowth, and the [herbage, heather,] and turvedollys late Thomas Greyne of the parte of the north, and a-but v-pon pe comon of Terrynton a-zensse pe est, and v-pon pe paster late Robert Clarke azens pe west; To haue and to hold pe forseyd iij rodes [of herbage, heather,] and turvedollys, with hys pertynessys, to pe forseyd John Collys to hys eyrys and to hys a-syneys, of the cheffe lordes of thow ffeys be the servyis

Fo. 75. ther-of dette and of rygth custom. And I the forseyd Robert and my eyrys, the forseyd iij rodes of [herbage, heather,] and turvedolys with hys pertynences, to pe forseyd John Collys to hys eyrys and to hys assynis

⁴ The translator was evidently puzzled how to English *erbarium* or *gerbarium*, and *brueria* or *bruera*, as the five places where the words occur he left blank. The first appears to be the herbage or coarse hay, the right for mowing which was purchasable from the lord of a manor; *bruarium* was a heath or waste, and implied a right to cut heather; *turbaria* was a place where turves could be cut; turve-dollys = turf-deals, i.e., pieces of turf or peat. The grant was thus one for the right of cutting certain fodder and fuel.

a-gens all men schall warent for euer more. In the wyche thyng wytnes be thys presont scharter my sell I haue put-to; be thys wetenessys, John Man, John Rakessond, John Kent, and other. 30vyn at Ormysby the forseyd, the sexte day of the monyth of jenyuer, pe 3er of pe reyn of kyng herry the sexte after the conquest xxxj 3ere.

10 (a). Universis presentes literas inspecturis vel audituris, Willelmus de Hopton salutem in domino; noueritis me teneri, et per presentes literas fideliter obligari, Thome Waryn de Cryssyngham in centum libris bonorum et legalium sterlingorum, pro bonis vivis mihi venditis et liberatis in villa de Norampton, die confescionis presencium, vnde sum bene contentus, quasquidem centum libras sterlingorum predictas teneor et bona fide promitto solvere et deliberare eidem Thome vel suo certo attornato presentes literas ostendentes apud Lincolniam, infra proximos octo dies post quam presentes literas fuerunt vise et ostense sine vltiori dilacione; et ad istam solucionem sic fideliter faciendam obligo me, heredes et executores meos; et ad maiorem hujus rei securitatem faciendam tales inueni fidejuscres subscriptos, videlicet, Johannem de Snoryngs, Thoma de Rokelond, qui sigilla sua vnacum sigillo meo alternatim presentibus apposuerunt. His testibus, &c. Date apud Norampton die omnium sanctorum, anno regni regis E. tercii post conquestum tercio.

10 (b). To all pepyll [that] thys present letter behold or see, William of Hopton sent gretynge in owre lord. Know 3e me to be hold and be thys presont letter feythfully to be bownd to Thomas W. of Cryssyngham Fo. 75v°. in a *cli.* of good and lawfull mony, for qweke goodes to me sold and delyueryd in the Town of Norampton, on pe day of thys present letter makynge, wer-of I am wyll content; of the wyche *cli.* of the forseyd

starlynges I am bownd, and be my good feyth permytted to pay and delyuer to pe same Thomas or to hys sorteyn attorneyys, thys letter schoyng, at Lyncoll *with-in* pe nexth viij day after the wych *presont* letter mad byn syn and schowyd, *with-owt* ony ferder delay; and on to thys payment so feythfully to be don I bynd me, my eyres and my executores. And on to the more suerte of thys thyng to be don I haue fownd thys suertys vnder wrytten, that ys to sey, John of Snorynges, Thomas of Rockelond; the wych hyr selys to-geder hau put *with* my sell, alternaty, to thys *present* letter hau put to; be thys wetnessys, A., &c. zowyn at Norampton on Hallownesse day, the zere of the reyn of kyng E. pe iij after conquest, iij zere.

Fo. 75 v°. 11 (a). Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, J. de S., dominus de W., miles, salutem in domino; Noueritis me teneri et fideliter obligari R. de N. camerario meo, pro laudabili servicio suo, hactenus inpenso in xx solidis sterlingorum annue pensionis, et vna roba de secta hominis de officio ospicii mei, soluendis eidem R. annuatim vel attornatis suis apud S. de costys meis ad totam vitam suam, ad festum natalis domini, sine contradictione quacunque; ad quam dicte annue pensionis xx solidorum predictorum solucionem vna-cum roba prenotata, bene et fideliter faciendam obligo me, heredes et executores meos, et omnia bona mea, mobilia et immobilia, presenciam et futura, vbicunque fuerint inuenta. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti, &c. His testibus, &c. Dat. apud.

Fo. 76. 11 (b). To all feythfull pepyll of Cryst on-to wome thys *presont* letter xall cum to, John of S., lord of W., knyth senth gretynge in owre lord. Know ze me to be hold and feythfully to be bownd to R. of N., my schambyrleyn, for hys laudabyll *servysse* in old tyme,

hangynge in *xxs.* of starlynges,⁵ of 3erly pensyne, and j robe, pat ys to sey, j gowne of cloth of j mane of the offyce of my ostay,⁶ to be payed to pe same R. 3erly or hys attornys at S. of my coffres, on to hys holl lyffe, at pe feste of the berth of ovr lord *with-owt* ony geyn-seyyng; on-to the wyche seyde 3erly penschyn of the forseide *xxs.* to be paid *with* j robe a-for notyd, wyll and feythfully to be done, I bynde me, myn eyrys and myne executorys, and all my goodes mevabyll and on-mevabyll, present and for to cum, were-so-meuer they may be fownd. In to pe wytensse of the wyche thyng be thys present, &c. Be thys wytnessys, &c. 3owyn, &c.

Fo. 76. 12 (a). Sciant presentes et futuri, quod nos Willelmus B. de O. et Agnes vxor mea, vnico assensu nostro dedimus, concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus domino Thome Schalys, Edwardo M. armigero, et Willelmo S. de Walton, heredibus et assignatis ipsius Willelmi, omnia terras et tenementa nostra, redditus et servicia, prata, pascua, et pastura, bruare⁷, junccar', turbar', et mariscos, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, comoditatibus et proficuis eisdem terris et tenementis qualitercunque pertinentibus, in villa, campis, bruaris, communiis, et mariscis de O., seu alibi infra hundredum de Estflegge: Habendum et tenendum omnia predicta terras et tenementa, redditus et servicia, prata, pascua, et pastura, bruar', junccar', turbar' et mariscos, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, prefatis domino Thome Schalys, Edwardo et Wyllelmo, heredibus et assingnatis ipsius Willelmi, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et de jure consueta; excepta

⁵ That is 20*s.* of sterling money. The word is believed to have come from the name Easterlings, the merchants of the North German Hans Towns, who were the earliest moneyers in England.

⁶ *Ostay*, i.e. household, seems to be this translator's equivalent for *hospicium*. Compare the French *houste*, given in Ducange.

⁷ See note to charter 9 (a), p. 145.

vnum messuagium et octo acras terre cum pertinentiis in O., quod quidem messuagium et octo acras terre cum pertinentiis, nuper predictus Willelmus S. de O. habuit ex dono et feoffamenta Thome Grene et Marie vxoris sue. Et nos, predicti Willelmus et Agneta et heredes nostri omnia predicta, terra, tenementa, redditus, et servicia, prata, pascue et pasturas, bruar', junecar', turbar', et mariscos, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, exceptis preexceptis, prefato domino Thome Schalys, Edwardo et Willelmo, heredibus et assingnatis ipsius Willelmi, contra omnes gentes warantzabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigilla nostra apposuimus. Hiis testibus Johanne Seyve, &c., et alliis. Data apud O. predictum vicesimo primo die mensis Januarii, anno regni regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum tricesimo secundo.

Fo. 76 v^o. 12 (b). All men beyng *presont* and for to *cum* be a know, That we, Wyllm. B. of O. and Anneys my wyffe, *with* on a-sent hath *gowyne* and *grantyde*, and be *owre* *presont* chartyr hath *confermyd* to lord John Schalys, and to Edward M. esqwyer, and to Wyllm. S. of Walton, to the eyrys and syneys of the same Wyllm., all *owre*⁸ *londes*, *tenementes*, *rentes*, and *seruyes*, *medowys*, *ffedynges*, *pasturys*, [heaths, reed-beds,]⁹ *torvedollys*, *merchys*, *with* all hys *pertynences*, *comedyteys*, *proffytys*, of the same

Fo. 77. *londes* and *tenementes*, were-so-euer they *perteyne*, in the towne or fyld [heaths]¹ *comownys* and *merceys* of O. or ony othere were-*with* in the *hunderede* of *Estflege*: To haue and to hold all the *forseyd* *londes* and *tenementes*, *rentes*, and *seruyis*; *medowys*, *fedyngeys*, and *pastures*, [heaths, reed-beds,] *towrvedowlles*, and *merschys*,

⁸ In the MS. "owre" is placed before "rentes."

⁹ These words are untranslated in the MS., a blank being left in each case as before, p 146.

¹ Ib.

with all there *pertynences*, to the forseyd lord Thomas Scalys, Edward, and Wyllm., to the eyrys and to the assyneys of the same Wyllm., of the chyffe lordes of the ffeys be the *seruyis* there-of dew and rygth custum, excepte on messe and viij acrys of lond with the *pertynens* in O., the wych messe and viij acrys of lond with the *pertynens* late the forseyd Wyllm. S. of O. haue had of gyfte and feffement of Thomas Grene and of Mary hys wyffe. And we pe forseyd Wyllm. and Angn', and owre eyrys, all the forseyd londes, tenementes, rentes, and *seruyis*, medowys, fedynges, and pastures [heaths, reed-beds,] Turvedowllys, and *merces*, with all ther *pertynences*, excepte befor excepte, to the forseyd lord Thomas Scalys, E. and Wyllm., to the eyrys and the syneys of the same Wyllm., a-gens all men schall warant for euer more. In the wyche thyng wetttenesse of thys presont chartyre owre selysse ar put to; be thys wytenesse John Seyve, etc., et allijs. Dat. apud O. predict.

THE ARTICLES OF ENQUIRY AT A COURT BARON AND A COURT LEET.

THESE "articles" carry us back to the older system of English law and polity, when the people being more equally distributed over the land bore a closer relation to the soil than at present, when local justice and local responsibilities were relied on as agents in the administration of public welfare, when peace and order had to be cared for by the people themselves. The Courts Baron and Leet were two important factors in this system.

The Court Baron, or lord's court, was held in every manor, and properly consisted of the free tenants of the lord; the freeholders as *suitors* (i.e., those who owed *suit*, or ought to come to each court, from Fr. *suir* = suivre, to follow) being the judges, the steward being merely the registrar and president. The term is also used to include the customary courts of the copyholders and customary

tenants, of which the lord or the steward was the judge. The Court Baron was of two natures, "the Freeholders' Court, which hath jurisdiction for trying actions of debt, trespasses, &c., under forty shillings, may be had every three weeks, and is something like a county court The other, for taking and passing of estates, surrenders, admittances, &c., is held but once or twice in a year (usually with the Court Leet) unless it be on purpose to grant an estate; and then it is holden as often as requisite. In this court the homage jury² are to inquire, that the lords do not lose their services, duties, or custom; but that their tenants make their suits of court, pay their rents and heriots, &c., and keep their lands and tenements in repair; they are to present all common and private nuisances which may prejudice their lord's manor, and every public trespass must be punished in this court by amercement, on presenting the same."³

A steward presided at the meeting on behalf of the lord, and gave the charge to the homagers (or freeholders), who were sworn in to enquire and adjudicate whether the general articles here following had been kept within the manor. The Court Baron thus, "chiefly regards the suit and service, the trespasses and offences, of the tenants, as relating to the rights and privileges of the lord of the manor."⁴

On the other hand "the Court Leet takes cognizance of felonies and misdemeanors, offences and nuisances generally," being "the older and superior tribunal, a Court of Record and the Court of the King." That is, the Court Leet included powers of dealing with the public peace and welfare, and matters which had to be dealt with by the general law of the land; it was the Law-day, held usually in manors, sometimes also in the larger jurisdiction of the hundred, when it was called the Sheriff's Tourn and Leet, because the

² Mr. Charles Elton, a recent authority, speaking of the Court Baron and the homage jury, says, "the name is given by common usage to the customary court of the copyholders, which concerns the copyholders only, and may be held without free tenants; and in the same way the word 'homage' is used to denote the jury of copyholders."—*Custom and Tenant Right*, 1882, p. 90.

³ *Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester*, edited by John Harland, Chetham Society, 1864, preface, p. 9. This passage is based upon Coke's 4 Report, 26; 6 Report, 11, 12; *Complete Copyholder*, § 31 (ed. 1641, p. 60); and the Statute 4 Edw. I.

⁴ *Ibid.*

sheriff, on behalf of the king, held court for the dispensing of justice in the different hundreds in turn. I cannot do better than quote the words of John Kitchin, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, in the preamble to his well-known treatise on "Le Court Leete et Court Baron," written in 1580, fo. 3, "Fineux (12 H. VII., fol. 18) says, that at the beginning all the administration of justice was in the crown, and wherever the king was, there was the law administered. Then, afterwards, because of the multiplying of the people, were the Court Leet and the Court Baron ordained; to wit, the *Leet* for the punishment of enormities and nuisances against the public weal, within the precincts of the same, and its articles and pains are ordained to this end. And it is called the 'View of Frankpledge, because the king may there have ascertained by the view of the steward, how many people are within any leet; and thus have account, and view, by the steward, of their good government and behaviour in any leet. And also the leet was ordained to have every person of the age of twelve years who has dwelt therein a year and a day, to be sworn to be faithful and loyal to the king. And also that the people there might be held in peace and obedience, these Courts Leets were established."⁵

It would require a small treatise to explain the details of these different Articles, dealing with various laws, tenures, and customs anciently in use and derived from a feudal origin. The articles to be inquired of in a Court Leet were dealt with by the Statute of Winchester, 13 Edward I., and articles of the View of Frankpledge of the date of Edward I. or II., are found in *The Statute Book* (Record edition, vol. i., p. 246), with which the reader may usefully compare these *Articuli lete*. The great value in old times of this system of inquiry and justice in the matters touching public health, highways, bridges, and sewers, and as to keeping the peace and taking criminals has been shown by my father in several published works,⁶ and the present collection is an excellent illustration of the reality and life of those local institutions which, though reviled or forgotten, have helped to make the England of the present. Some of the inquiries made in a Court Baron were often regulated by

⁵ This translation is quoted from *Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester*, 1864, prefatory chapter, p. 7. This chapter contains a mass of valuable information collected in illustration of the history and practice of these courts.

⁶ See for example *Practical Proceedings for the Removal of Nuisances*, by Toulmin Smith, 1856, pp. 2—10; *The Parish*, pp. 128 and notes, 367—369.

a Customary or Custumal, in which, the jurors at some date having made a searching inquiry and statement of the customs in use within their manor (as is well known they varied greatly in different parts of England), these were all enrolled. Examples of such Custumals may be seen in that of Tettenhall Regis, printed in *English Gilds* (ed. Toulmin Smith, Early Eng. Text Soc., 1870, p. 432), and of Sutton Coldfield, printed in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, vol. ii., p. 911. There is no reference to such a roll for Stuston, though it may possibly have existed. For useful information on the old terms, tenures, and customs, see Elton's *Custom and Tenant Right*, quoted above, and the Introduction to the same writer's *Treatise on the Law of Copyholds*, 1874.⁷ The "charge" given in a Court Leet and a Court Baron, with articles similar to the following, will be found in Kitchin's work above referred to (fourth English edition, 1663, pp. 16 and 109), and in Sir Edw. Coke's *Order of Keeping a Court Leet and Court Baron*, 1650.

These two sets of articles appear to have been written in the book by Melton himself, the hand resembling that of the accounts.

Fo. 51.

THE CORTE BARUNE.

[Charge by the Steward to the Homagers, of Articles to be enquired by them].

1. Ye schall treuly enquire and forth presente on my lordys be-halffe all ye pointys yat longeth to the Corte, and to ye plasse⁸ betwyx party & party, and for no thyng spare, but yat 3e schall so do; so helpe you god and hullydum,⁹ & be this boke.

2. Fyrst ye schall enquire of all y^e yat owe sute to this Corte, yf they be here, and all they that make defawte present ther namys, be the otthe that ye haue take.

⁷ I am indebted to Mr. Charles Elton for several kind hints and corrections of my notes on these "Articles."

⁸ *Plasse*, pleas.

⁹ *Hullydom*, halidom, the company of saints.

3. Also ye schall do us to wete if ther be ony tenaunte ded sithe the last Corte, and ye schall do us to weete what he hylde of my lord, and be what *serwyce* he is, his nexte eyur, and of what age; what *profyte* my lord may haue after his deth, as ward, mariage, releeffe, harryet,¹ other *eschete*² or ony *oyer profyite*; do us to wet what *proffyte* he owte for to haue, be zower othis.

Fo. 51. v^o. 4. And also be well awysed whether he ware a fre tenaunte or a bonde, for zeffe he ware a fre tenaunte yan must ze enquire be what *seruyce* he helde of this lordscheppe, whether he hylde be *skwage*³ or be sokage, for if they holde be *skwage*, that is knytes *serwyce*, and zeffe he died sesyd in the lond and his eyur *with-in* age, my lord schall haue the ward of ye lond and the maryage of the chylde. And if the chylde be of full age *yat* holdith be *yat* tenuer of knyte *serwisse*, whan his fadyr is ded the eyur schall enter the lond and pay a releeff, and do his omage and sewte, and althow it be sokage lond zet ye eyur schall pay a releeffe and do his sewte; and ther-for zeffe ony sweche be, do us to wete.

5. Also ze schall enquire zef ony manne be owte-lauyd of feloney, convycte or atteynte of felonye, do us to wete what he heelde of my lorde, and wheyer he helde
Fo. 52. frely or bondly. For if he helde frely the kyng schall hawe the wauntege and the *profyttes* a yer and a day, and after *yat* it hath be in ye kynges hande a yer and a day, my lord schall serve it owte of the kynges honde be a wryte of *eschete*; and zeffe it be bond lond it is a cleer *eschet* to my lord of this lordscheppe and to no *oyer manne*.

6. Also ze schall enquire yf ony manne dyed sesyd of

¹ *Harryet*, heriot, a gift due to the lord on the death of a tenant.

² *Eschete*, escheat, that which falls in due to the lord.

³ *Skwage*, escuage, knight's service.

ony lond or tenement of this maner, and if he ware a basterd borne, and hath non eyur of his body in wedlok, his lond schalbe eschettyd to my lord be it fre or bond.

7. Also enquere ze fe yer be ony manne or woman dyed sesyd of ony londys or tenementes yat is helde of this maner, and yf he haue non eyur of his body noyer non eyur colaterall, his lond shall be eschettyd to my lord, be it fre lond or bonde lond.

Fo. 52 v^o. 8. Also ze schall enquere ze fe ony lond befall be desent of ye faderes syd, and if yer be non eyer forth of ye faderys syd it schall neuer turne to ye eyurs of the moderys syd, and if it be ye enherytauns of the moderes side it schall neuere turne to ye eyurs of the faderes syde, but it shalbe eschettyd to yis lordscheppe: thus cum eschettes into lordscheppys; zeeffe ony sweche be, do us to wete be [3]owre othis.

9. Also ze schall enquere if ony mann yat wasse bond tenaunt of this lordscheppe, and dyed sesyd of ony bond lond, ze schall enquere of how meche he dyed sesyd of, and how is his neste eyer, and what auauntage my lord may have after his tenaunttes deth, as fynne or haryet, lyke as the custom of the maner wyll.

10. Also ze schall enquere zeef ony man hath purchasyd ony lond yat is holde of this maner frely, and be what seruyce it is holde ze schall enquere, and wee schall warde owte a dusses⁴ a-zens heme yat haue purchased this lond, to schowe how they be entryd in-to my lordes

⁴ A Writ of *Duces tecum* was one commanding a person to appear in the Court of Chancery, bringing certain evidences or writings. From the above it appears that the steward and homagers in the Court Baron could make the same kind of order.

fee, that they may do homage and sewte to my lord, a-cordyng to the custom of this lordscheppe.

Fo. 53. **11.** Also 3e schall enquire 3ef any man hath bowt or sold any bond lond sythe ye last corte, or be for, and hath nowte be presentyd, present yt^s nowe.

12. Also 3e schall enquire 3ef any man or woman hath occupyed any of my lordys demen landys, medowis, or pastures, with owte lysens of the lord or of his offeser, or any bond lond after tyme it hath be sesyd be the omage of ye corte in to my lordys hande, do us to wet, how it is, and how longe he hath occupyed it so, and of what walew it is be yer, be the othe that ye haue made.

13. Also 3ef ther be any man hath lete any bond lond to ferme for terme of lyffe, or for terme of yerres, with owte lysens of the lord and fynne-makyng in the corte, do us to wete ther-of and of ther namys.

14. Also ye schall enquire 3ef any man hath alyenyd any bond lond be chartre or crafte for terme of lyff or for terme of yerys, the wheche here-after may be in preiudyce to my lorde or hurtyng to his eyurs in tyme cummyng.

Fo. 53 v°. **15.** Also 3e schall enquire yef any bond mane or bond womane of blood of this lordscheppe be dwelyng ouzte of this lordscheppe with ouzt lycens of my lord or chewache⁶ paying yerly of record in the Cort Rollys, do us to wet how it is.

16. Also 3e schall enquire 3ef any bond manne of

⁵ MS. has *presentyd*.

⁶ Chewache, i.e., *chevage* or *chiefage*, head or poll money, paid by the bond man or woman in sign of the link between lord and tenant, of right due from the tenant, and of protection due from the lord.

blood hath sete his sone to skole,⁷ or hath maryed his douter with ouzte lycens of my lord, or 3ef any bonde woman hath hade chylde ouzt of wedloke, my lord not hawying 2^s. 8^d. of gersom,⁸ or agre with my lord; 3ef any sweche be, presenttyd⁹ be youre othis.

17. Also 3e schall inquire 3ef any mane or womane hath made any strypppe or waste in my lorddys bond tenmenttes, as lat fall doun any howses or hewyng any tymmber *wheche*¹ ouzt to be to repare the same tenment with-thall,—do us to wete.

18. Also 3efe ther be any mane with-holdith any rent, sute, or *service* of this maner, be it coke, henne, gosse, pyge, egges, wyntir worke, or summer worke, or any Fo. 54. other rent or *serwisse*, as peper, gynger, clow, gilofre, or red-roffe, or any other dewte, with-holdyng & wil not pay,—do us to wete,—ho it is, and how long it hath be with-holde, and wher the fee lyth, yat ye baly may destreyne ther-for, 3ef nede be.

19. Also 3e schall enquire 3ef any manne hath made any rescous² up-on any officer of my lordes, what tyme yey cume to take any dystresse, oyer atte sute of partye or for rent, sute, or *servyce*, or for any other dute longyng to my lord, and so takyng the dystresse fro the offycer in contempt of my lordys lordscheppe; and if any man hath broke my lordys pounde, and stolyn, takyn, and drewyn a-wey his

⁷ Perhaps with a view to taking holy orders, cf. art. 3, p 161; the ecclesiastic being exempt from military and feudal services, the lord was so far a loser by him. But it appears elsewhere that a villein was forbidden to send his son to school.

⁸ *Gersom*. A fine or amercement.

⁹ *I.e.*, present it.

¹ This word is contracted w^t in the MS.

² *Rescous*. Rescue of the goods distrained by driving away the officer.

bestes *with* owgte lycens of my lord or his officer,—do us to wete ther-of be gouer othis.

20. Also geffe yer be ony mane vsurpyth upon my lord in this lordscheppe, claymyng free boole³ or fre bore, or fre foldage other-wysse yan ther ougte for to haue of rygth, or hath be acustumed of olde tyme,—do us weete be the othe that yew haue made.

Fo. 54 v°. **21.** Also geff ony mane hath huntid or hawkyd in my lordis wareyn, takyng hare or cony, larke, ffesant, or partrych, or any oyer best or fowell of warenye,—presente ther namys be goure othis.

22. Also gef ony mane hath fished my lordys seuerall wateres, as pondys, pyttes, or reueres,—do us to wete how they be and what fische they haue takyne, be [3]owre othis.

23. Also ye schall enquire gef ony custumable scathe⁴ be done in my lordys londys, medowis, pasturys, or woodys, *with* hors, nete, or schepe, or ony other beeste,—do us to wete.

24. Also ge schall enquire ef ony bonde mane of blod hath purchasyd ony free lond be chartre, or ony free lond be falle to hyme be desent of erytage, and that land hath nate be sesyd to my lord and takyne aftyr of my lord be copy, and be encres of rent;—do us to wete be the othis that ye haue made.

Fo. 55. **25.** Also ye schall enquire gef ony mane hath done ony skathe⁴ in my lordys woodys, or in his undurwoodys, hewyng dong ony tres or roddys, brekyng

³ Boole, bull.

⁴ Skathe, injury, damage.

dong ony heggys, and beryng a wey the wood, presentith be[3]oure othys.

26. Also 3e schall enquere 3ef ony strayes be comyne in to this lordschepe, be it horsse, nete, or schepe, or ony oyer catell, and no mane knowith hos ye propirte is, 3e schall do us to wete. For 3ef it hath be with in this lordschippe twelmoneth and a day it schall be forfeete to my lord, and 3ef it hath not be so long 3e schall tell us how long it hath be in this lordschepe, and proclamaschone schall be made ther-of; and 3ef ony mane come and make lawfull pruf, he schall haue his best azene, and 3ef he pay my lord for the pasture for the tyme ther beyng.

Fo. 55 v^o.

ARTICULI LETE.

1. Ye that be hedborwes⁵ of the lete 3e schall trewly enquere and make presenment of all maner of poyntys that longith to the lete on the kynges be-halffe and on my lordes. The kynges counsell, my lordes, the stuerdys, yower felowes, and yowre owyne, 3e schall well and trewly kepe, and for no-thing spare, nowther for maleys nor yl-wyll, nor for loue nor for fauor no-thing present, but as ye know of ryte, and may know or enquere, and trewe sertyficat make. So helpe you god and holy-dom, and be this boke.

2. Fest 3e schall enquere 3ef all the persons yat schulde do sute to this lete atte thys day, 3ef yat they be her, and they that make defawte presente ther namys be [3]owre othis.

3. Also 3e schall enquere 3ef all y^o y^t haue dwelyd

⁵ *Hed-borowes.* The head-borough, or chief-pledge, was originally one man out of every ten who gave surety to keep peace and order, as head of the ten others in the tything.

with-thin ye preseint⁶ of this lete twelmonth and a day,
 and if they be xij yer olde or a-boue, gefe yey be
 Fo. 56. sworne in this lete; and gef yei be note sworne
 her ge schall present their namys, and hoo hath
 ressettes heme, howsed or harbernyd heme, for ther be
 non owt-take⁷ but knytes and knytes' eldest chyldryn,
 and chyldyrne that go to skole to take holy ordurs.

4. Also ge schall enquire gef ony hedborgh of ony oyer
 lete be come demoraunt⁸ with-thyne this lete, do us to wete
 ho it is, be [ʒ]oure othis.

5. Also ge schall enquire of all ye defawtes yat ware
 presentyd at ye last lete, gefe they be suffisauntly amendid
 or not, be the othe yat ye haue made.

6. Also ye schall enquire of all maner assawtes, as of
 frayes of hamsokenys,⁹ and how hath made hem and of whome;
 and of blood drawtys drawing, and how hath drawyne heme,
 and up-one whome; and of owtas¹ made or resyd, ho hath
 reryd and what they be, and wheyer it hath be a-reysyd ryg-
 fully or wornfully; for gef it haue be areryd rygtfully thane
 he that it hath be arreryd up-one shall be ponysshed
 Fo. 56 v°. yer for, and gef it ha be arreryd wrongfully² than

⁶ *Preseint*, precincts.

⁷ *Owt-take*, excepted. As to school, see before, p. 158

⁸ *Demoraunt*, dwelling.

⁹ *Hamsoken* (A.S. *ham soen*, home liberty), the privilege of a man's own house. Hence it came to mean the fine for breaking this privilege, and the offence itself. Compare the Scotch *hamesucken*, i.e., the assault on a man in his own house. *Frayes of hamsokenys* is equivalent to house-breaking or burglary.

¹ *Owtas*, hue and cry (the word seems to be an intermediate between *hue* and *hoot*). To raise the hue and cry, for a constable or a private person, was the ancient method of pursuing and taking offenders against the peace and person, and the above article shows how it was regulated.

² This word was first written "wong" and then struck out, which shows the intention of the previous similar spelling.

he yat hath areryd shalbe ponysshed yer for, and therfor whether it hath be arrerid ritzfully or wrongfully, present it and tell us ther-of, I charge you be the othe 3e³ haue made.

7. Also 3e schall enquire of all maner purprises and purprestures,⁴ in feldys, fennys, and in comyns, as eryng up of merys,⁵ rasyng up of dowlys,⁶ streityng or stoppyng of the kynges hey wey, pyttyng or plantyng in ye comyn or in the comyn way to the nosons⁷ of ye cuntre; present all sweche thynges be ye othe 3e haue made.

8. Also 3e shall enque[re] 3ef any mane make any wyndolsse,⁸ and ley oney dong in the comyne wey or comyne sty, or ley any tymber, oyer hath any bowis of heggerewis⁹ hangyng ouer ye comyne wey or comyne sty,¹ or ony brusshall² growyng in ye comyne wey or in the comyne sty, yat is nosauns to ye peple; present all sweche thynges be the othis yat 3e haue made.

³ MS. has *he*.

⁴ *Purprises and purprestures*, inclosures and encroachments.

⁵ *Eryng* = earing, ploughing; *merys*, land-marks or boundaries (A.S. *mære*, a boundary). Probably these which could be ploughed up were the earth-balks, strips of raised ground left untouched by tillage between each plot. See next note.

⁶ *Rasyng up of dowlys*, i.e., lifting or moving a boundary stone or post. According to Marshall's *Rural Economy of Norfolk* (among Reprinted Glossaries, iii., English Dialect Society) a *dole-stone* in Norfolk is a land-mark. Forby says a *dole* is a boundary-mark in an unenclosed field, often a low post. A *dole* in some places means a narrow strip of pasture left between strips of arable land; but its primary meaning appears to be a small allotment of land. See Jacobs' *Law Dictionary*, s.v. *dalus* and *dole*.

⁷ *Nosons*, nuisance, hurt.

⁸ I am unable to explain this word; *lay-stall* (a dung-hill), *carrion*, or *garbage* laid on the highway usually comes in this place.

⁹ *Bowis of hegge-rewis*, boughs of hedge-rows.

¹ *Sty*, lane or path. For different kinds of stys or paths see article 10.

² *Brusshall*, i.e., brushwood.

Fo. 57. 9. Also 3e shall enquire 3ef any mane hath stoppyd, stretyd, or turned any rizt cors of ye watur or hath not feyd³ his dickes wher-thurgh ye water ouerfloweth ye comyne or ye comyne wey, or 3ef any manne hath nouzt defendyd azens ye comyne, or 3ef oney mane hath nouzt stoppyd his skyp-styles⁴ in resonable tyme ; 3e shall present it and tell us ther-of.

10. Also 3e shall enquire 3ef any mane hath made any wrong wey or any wrong sty,⁵—for yer be no mo of rizte but cherche wey or sty, market sty, mylle sty, and welle sty. And 3ef any mane hath turnyd any rizt wey or rizte sty, oyer wyse thane of olde tyme hath be acustumed, with oute yat he have a wrizte yat is calyd *ad quod dampnum*, that is dyrecte doun to the eschetor to enquire be ye visnete ;⁶ 3e schall enquire and do us to wete be youre othis.

11. Also 3e shall enquire 3ef any man hath encrochid to hyme of the comune, with dyche, hege, hows, walle, or pathe, setting ther up-one *with-owte* lysens of ye kyng or of my lord ; do us to wete what length, what bred, and ther namys yat ded it, be 3owre othis.

Fo. 57 v°. 12. Also 3e shall enquire 3ef any mane vse any fals weytes or fals mesorys, yat is for to sey he yat bey be on and selle be anoyer, for to desey the pepull with-thall, or oyer vse to selle be punds, the weche is forbode be statute ; 3ef 3e know oney sweche do us to wete, be ye othis yat 3e haue made.

³ *Fey*, to cleanse a well, pit, or ditch, by clearing out the mud.

⁴ A *skyp-style* appears to be no other than a stile, *i.e.*, a stationary gate which can be easily leapt over.

⁵ *Sty*. See article 8.

⁶ *Visnete*, *i.e.*, vicinity. The enquiry made under the writ *ad quod damnum* (to find out what harm would ensue by the encroachment) was to be made by sworn men of the neighbourhood, according to old constitutional principle.

13. Also ze shall enquire zef *yer* be ony gret thevys a-monges zow, sweche as ar stelers of hors, nete, or schepe, or ony oyer good or catell, or ravishors of mene wyves or *servautes*; do us to wete; for this ze haue full power to endite heme, and we shall takit under zowre selys as ye law wolle.

14. Also ze shall enquire zef ony pety bryburs be *yer* a-monges zow, sweche as stelyne shewis⁷ in harwest, hennys or caponns or ony other thyng, or to twykke⁸ and bere away swech good as mene hanne with-thyn ther howsys, oyer zef *yer* be ony suspeschus leueres a-monges zow, yat is for to sey stafe-strykers, nyte-walkers, ewysdropers, and swiche as slepe on the day and walke a ye nyte, and haue but lytyll or nowte for lewe by; present ther namys yat wee may know what they be, be ye othes ze haue take.

FO. 58. **15.** Also ze schall enquire zef *yer* be ony comune bakers or brewe[r]s and typelers, zef yei do and selle as ye statute woll, and ellys ther defawtys; and of yower alle-founders,⁹ zef they hawe do *yer* office well and trwly, and ellys present and chese newe.

16. Also ze shall enquire of all oyer witayllers yat selle in this lordshepe, as bochers yat selle on-holsume flessch and wyne no more than ye statute wolle, of xij^d a peny; ellys present.

17. Also ze schall enquire zef ony manne communeth in zour comune but yei that be comuners of rygte, or zef ony mane surchargeth yowre comune, yat is to sey he yat hath

⁷ *Shewis*, sheaves.

⁸ *Twykke*, twitch.

⁹ *Alle-founders*, usually called ale-conners or ale-tasters—officers yearly chosen to see that the ale was rightly made, according to the assize.

mo bestes in yowre comune thane ye quantite of his tennure woll bere, or ellys kepith ony bestis of ony straungers under colour of his owene; loke yat ye present ther namys, be yowre othis.

18. Also ge shall enquire zef ony mane hath made ony recuse¹ a-gens the kynges constable, nowt standyng to his areste whane he is requeryd; oyer zef ony be rebell, and woll nowt wake the kynges wache,² gadere ye kynges tayke³ whane he is requeryd on ye kynges name; ge Fo. 58^b. shall present theme; oyer zef ony mane hath made ony rescw up-on oyer, yat is for to sey zef he fynd his neybor's bestes doyng harme in his cornne, medowes, or pasturs, and he make a rescusse on yat destresse so takyne, ye shall do us to wet, for he may make his pounce a day and a nygte, and after yat brynge ye dysstresse to the lordys pounce a-bovyne; and ther-for zef yer be ony sweche present them be ye oth.

19. Also ge shall enquire of weyfe, of stray of catell, de futifes, and de felone, zefe ony haue come *with* in this lordshape; a weyffe is zefe a thefe haue stole hors, shep, or net, or ony oyer good or catell, and for drede of takyng or be bywrayyng fleth a wey fro that good or catell; zef ony sweche haue be take or sene *with-thyne* thys lordshepe, do us to wet, be the othes ge haue made.

20. Also ge shall enquire zef yer is ony mane yat hath nozte hangyd his fal-zates³ at resonable tymes as he owte to

¹ *Rescuse*, a shaking off, driving away. See note to Art. 19 of Court Baron.

² The king's watch and the king's take; the first is the watchman to keep the public peace, the second the public taxes which were collected by local officers.

³ A fall-gate in Norfolk is a gate across a public road.—Marshall's *Rural Economy*, Reprint III. in English Dialect Society.

do, the whiche on hangyng hath be noyans to hys neyburs, zef ther be ony swich, present theme, be ye othis yat ze haue made.

Fo. 59. **21.** Also ze shall enquire zef ony baly hath come with this lordshepe and take or made ony wrong distrese, or ony mane arestyed, ageyn the custom or the fraunchisse of this lordshipe, in *preiudice* or *deshertyson*⁴ of ony lord and his lordshipe; present ther namys how and wher, be zowre othis.

22. And ther-for of thees poyntes and all other yat long to ye corte or to ye lete, in the kynges name and in my lordes, be the othes yat ze habe mad, I charge zow yat ze enquire truly and make us a trew werdyte.⁵

Expliciunt Articuli Cure et Lete.

⁴ *Deshertyson*, disherison.

⁵ *I.e.*, verdict.



Part 3.—Private Accounts.

ACCOUNT OF (?) ROBT. MELTON OR . . . KEMPE FOR EXPENSES OVER HIS MOTHER AND BROTHER A.D. 1499 TO 1503.⁶

Fo. 62 v^o. [A.D. 1499.]

M ^d . delyuered to my mother for to pay Goodwyn in the xv. yere of Kyng Harry the vij th	xxs.
Item I sent to hyr the same yere by my wyffe and my brother Willm. to pay Markantes manne	xxvjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It. for a bonet of welwete bowte for hyr at Norweche	xvs.
It. for a fryntlet of saten with the lynying of welwete	vjs.
It. for ij yerddys and iij quarturs of tawny clothe for my mother, the price of a yerd iijs. summa	xjs.
It. for a chete of schanckes ⁷ made for the same gownne with a ly[n]ing of lether	ijs. xd.
It. for v tawelyns of schanckes for the coler and the coffe of the same gown	xij <i>d</i> .

⁶ As to these accounts see Preface, pp. 5, 6, 7.

⁷ *Shanks* was an ordinary fur from the legs or thighs of rabbits and other animals (see Fairholt's *Dictionary of Costume*, and Halliwell's *Archaic Dictionary*). A *chete* appears to be part of the dress, perhaps for *chute*, a hanging piece. *Tawelyns* seem to be a measure; these two words I am unable to find. (*Chete* is now "Norfolk" for a false front, Mr. Walter Rye informs me.)

It. for a gown for my brother Willm. . . . vjs. viij*d*.
 It. for a hosse clothe of roset, the price . . . viij*d*.
 Summa iiij*li*. ix*s*. x*d*.

Fo. 63.

It. for vij hundurd wood and a halffe that my
 mothere hade at Schelffangguy,⁸ the price
 of a hundurd xx*d*., summa vij hundurd
 and di. xijs. v*d*.
 It. for vij cumbe whete and ij bushell, the
 price of a cumbe iijs. iiij*d*. summa xix*s*. viij*d*.
 It. for a cumbe of mesclyn, the price . . . ijs. viij*d*.
 It. for v cumbe of whete that sche bowte of
 me a-for I maryed, the price . . . vjs. viij*d*.
 It. for ix cumbe and iiij b₃ of mawlte that sche
 bowte of me at dyuers tymys the price of
 a cumbe xx*d*. summa xvjs. iiij*d*.

[A.D. 1503].

It. for ij yere bordyng of my brother Willm.
 Kempe yendyng upon seynt Edmondrys
 day a-for Crystmes in the xix yere of
 Kyng Harry y^e vijth iiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.
 Summa vj*li*. iiijs. v*d*.

Summa totalis x*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*. wher of abate
 [but it does not say what].

ROBERT MELTON'S ACCOUNTS: PURCHASES.

Fo. 65 v^o. [A.D. 1502.]

This boke witnesseith of sweche cornne as I, Melton,
 haue bowte of dyuers menne frome Mydsummer in the xvij
 yere of king harry the vijth as apeurth her-aftur.

⁸ Shelfanger, a parish in Norfolk, near Diss.

Fyrst bowte of Thomas Mason of Eye at dy ^u s tymes befor seynt Petur, iij cumbe of mesclyn, the price	vjs.	⁹ D ³ iij cumb mesclyn.
Item bowte of the same Mason ij bushell of barly, the price	viijd.	D ³ ij b ³ barly.
Item bowte of Willm. Porsson of Belyngforth upon seynt Peturs day laste past x cumbe of barly and ij busshell, the price . . .	vij ^s . vjd.	D ³ vij cumb barly.
Item the same day bowte of John Wheymond of Ocle xx cumbe barly, the price . .	xvjs. viijd.	D ³ v merke.
Fo. 66.	xxxij ^s . xd.	
Item bowte of Thomas Mason of the Fryday nest aftur seynt Peter and Powlle a cumbe of whete and ij cumbe mesclyn, price . .	vjs.	Seed.
Item for a cumbe of barly bowte of the same Mason y ^e same day, the price	xd.	
It. bowte of the same Mason the Fryday nest after seynte Thomas a cumbe barly . . .	xd.	
It. bowte of the same Mason a the Saturday nest seynt Thomas, a cumbe barly, the price	xiijd.	
It. for a cumbe of mesclyn bowte of hyme upon Mary Magdalyn day, the price . .	ij ^s .	Seed.
It. for vj busshell mesclyn bowte the same day of Kateryn Chapman	iijs.	
It. for iiij cumbe and a b ³ of mesclyn bowte the same day of Wheymond of Ocle, the price	viijs. iiijd.	
Fo. 66 v ^o .	xxij ^s . jd.	
It. bowte of the porsson of notsuts in the weke nest befor seynt Jamys xx cumbe of rey, the price	xxxij ^s . iiijd.	D ³ xxs. di. seed.

⁹ This mark against the many items in this account seems to mean *debet*
or *debtor*.

D ₃ xs. seed.	It. bowte of Jamys Prime iij cumbe mesclyn, the price	vjs.
D ₃ vj b ₃ barly.	It. bowte a the same Jamys in the weke of lammys x cumbe barly and ij bushell, y ^e price	ixs. ijd.
Seed.	It. bowte of Thomas Mason of Eye y ^e Fryday in the same weke a cumbe of mesclyn, y ^e price	ijs.
	It. for a cumbe of barly bowte the same day, the price	xijd.
	It. bowte of John Prime the elder in the weke of Seynt Margaret v busshellys of barly, the price	xvd.
D ₃ iij b ₃ and di.	It. bowte of Harry Cade in the weke of Lammes v cumb barly & a busshell, the price	<u>iijs. vjd.</u> lvjs. iiijd.

Fo. 67. [A.D. 1501.]

Barly bowte in the xvj yere of the reyne of Kyng
Harry the vijth.

Fyrst bowt of Wiffm Long of Carton the
Turnur xxij cumbe barly, and he payd .
Item of Rabard Eyterd of Ocle x cumbe and
ij busshellys of barly, and he payd . . .

[Eight items similar to these, each concluding with the words "and he payd," follow, but they are all crossed through. At the bottom of the page are the following words:—This whete, mesclyn, and barly must be delyuered at Stuston wthyn xxij dayes aftur halowmes nest comyng.]

Fo. 67 v^o. M^d delyuered to my wyffe in the weke of
Seynt Thomas xxxiijs. iiijd. in golde for John Cade and
iijs. vjd. in sylwer rec. at Dyse market and of John Prime.

Fo. 77 v°. [A.D. 1502.]

ROBERT MELTON'S ACCOUNTS: DEBTORS.

Thes parsell folowyng be owyng to me R. Melton up on the xiiij day of Juyff Ao. H. VII. xvij^{mo}.

Fyrst Jamys Prime for ij cumbe mesclyn	vjs.
It. for the same Jamys for v cumbe barly	ixs. ij <i>℥</i>
It. Joh. Prime y ^e elder for ij cumbe barly and iij busshell	iijs. ix <i>℥</i>
It. Lamdon of Eye, hoser, for a cumbe of mesclyn, the price	iijs.
It. Rabart Tayler of Eye, wryte, for a cumbe of whete	iijs. viij <i>℥</i>
It. Goslyn of Hoxon, thacher, for a b ₃ ¹ of whete	xj <i>℥</i>
It. R. Page ² of Skolle for a cumbe of whete iij <i>℥</i> . v <i>℥</i> ., and a cumbe of mawlte i <i>℥</i> ., and for a cumbe pesse xxij <i>℥</i>	vjs. iiij <i>℥</i>

Fo. 78.

It. Kateryn Chapman of Ocle for a b ₃ of whete xij <i>℥</i> . and for ij b ₃ of mesclyn xvij <i>℥</i> . and a b ₃ of maulte v <i>℥</i> ., or ellys vj b ₃ of mesclyn at myhylmes	iijs.
It. Will. Long of Carton rode for xj cumbe and ij b ₃ of barly	xixs. ij <i>℥</i>
It. Hew Gey of Stuston for a b ₃ of whete xj <i>℥</i> . and a b ₃ mawlte v <i>℥</i>	xvij <i>℥</i> .
Summa	v marke j <i>℥</i> .
It. Deston of Ocley for ij b ₃ of mesclyn	xvij <i>℥</i> .
It. for a cumbe of maulte delyuered to the same Desston	ijs.
It. Dedham of Ocley for whete and mesclyn	xj <i>℥</i> .
It. to Mother Rymston of Eye for a cumbe of whete	vjs. iiij <i>℥</i> .

¹ I.e. a bushell.² See as to R. Page also p. 175.

Fo. 45 [A.D. 1502-3.]

ROBT. MELTON'S ACCOUNTS: PURCHASES.

Thys boke witnessyth of sweche kornne as I Robt. Melton hath bowte in the xvij yer of Kyng Harry the vijth.

Fyrst I bowte of Robt. Eyterd of Ocle x cumbe of barly and ij b ₃ , the price . . .	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
Item of Jamys Prime v cumbe and a b ₃ of whete and v cumb and a b ₃ of mesclyn .	xvijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item of Recherd Adhams of Ocle xxj cumb barly, the price	xv <i>s</i> .
Item to Popy for x cumbe and ij b ₃ of barly bowte of hyme, the price	x <i>s</i> .
Item to Hary Cade for v cumbe and a b ₃ of barly bowte of hym	v <i>s</i> .
Item to Jamys Pryme upon Seynt Peter ewyn, for viij cumbe barly and a b ₃ bowte of hyme the same day, the price	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .

Fo. 45 v^o.

Item bowte of Joh. Wheymond of Ocle, betwix Wesonday and Mydsummer, x cumbe mesclyn and ij b ₃ , the price	xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item bowte of the same Wheymond the same tyme xlvj cumbe berly	xxxiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item at another tyme vij cumbe barly and ij b ₃ , ye price	vs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item at the iiij ^{de} tyme for xij cumbe barly and ij b ₃ , the price	ix <i>s</i> . ij <i>d</i> .

Fo. 46.

Whete, mesclyn, barly, and ottys, bowte frome Crowche-
mes³ in the xix yere of Kyng Harry the vijth.

³ Crowche-mes, or Cross week, another name for Rogation week. See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. 1873, vol. i., p. 262.

Fyrst I bowte of Jamys Prime x busshellys of whete and di, and x busshell of mesclyn and a halffe.

Item bowte of the same Jamys xxxiiij cumbe barly and ij bʒ.

Item bowte of Roger Page xxxvj cumbe barly and iij busshell.

Item bowte of John Wheymond xlij cumbe barly.

Item bowte of Recherd Adhams xxiiij cumbe barly.

Item bowte of Robert Eyterd vj cumbe whete.

Item bowte of the same Robert x cumbe barly and ij busshell.

The sum of the barly of this seyde is vij^{xx} cumbe and vj [i.e., 146 coombes].

Fo. 46 v^o.

Item bowte of Thomas Mason of Eye in the same yere a-forseyd x busshellys and a halffe of whete and x busshellys and a halffe of mesclyn.

Item bowte of the same Thomas v cumbe and a busshell of barly.

Item bowte of Joh. Grenne of Ocley x busshellys and di of barly.

Item bowt of Willm. Lyng ij cumbe of barly.

Item bowte of Desston of Belyngforth v cumbe barly and a busshell.

Item bowte of Roger Cawthaw or Stuston v cumbe berly and a bʒ.

Item of Harry Cade v cumbe barly and a bʒ I bowte of hym.

Item I bowte of Robert Popy xxxj cumbe barly and ij bʒ.

Item I bowte of the same Popy xxj cumbe ottes.

Summa of this seyde is lvij cumbe barly.

Fo. 27.

R. MELTON'S ACCOUNT: WITH MISTRESS FROXMER.

This byll witnessith of sweche money as I, R. Melton, reseyuyd of Mastras Froxmer⁴ for serteyne cornne y^t I, R. Melton, solde longyng to the seyde M. Froxmer from Candylmes in the xxiiijth yere of the reigne of Harry the vijth [A.D. 1507-8] on to mydsummer neste after that.

Furst I reseyuyd for x cumbe for the seyde

Mastras Froxmer	xxxxs.
Item for v cumbe mesclyn	xjs.
Item for vij cumbe mawlte	xijs. iiijd.
Summa	liijs. iiijd.

Wher of payed to the seyde Mastras Froxmer in money upon the xx day of Agust the same yere aboue seyde vjs. viijd.⁵

Fo. 27 v°.

Item delyuered to Mastras Froxmer up on the xxij th day of Agust in the same yere afor seyde a quartur of whete, the price . . .	vjs.
Item for a quartur of maulte delyuered the same tyme to mastras Froxmer, the price .	vjs. viijd.
Summa payed and delyuered to the seyde Mastres Froxmer	xvijs. viijd.
And so ther restyth in the handes of me R. Melton	xxxiijs. viijd.

And with that xxxiiijths. viijd.

Furst I bowte iiij quarturs of whete, the price of a quartur is iijs. [jd.] . . . Summa	xvjs. iiijd.
Item for iiij quarturs mesclyn, the price of a quartur is ijs. iiijd. . . . Summa	xiijs. iiijd.

⁴ *I.e.*, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Cornwallis, married to Francis Froxmer.—Collins' *Peerage*, 1812, ii. p. 538.

⁵ There are two mistakes in this account, Melton probably overlooked this viijd. in his addition, being over the leaf.

Item for ij quarturs of barly, the price of a
 quartur is ijs. viij*d*. . . . Summa vs. iiij*d*.
 Summa payed for whete, mesclý[n], and barly xxxvs.
 And so is owyng me iiij*d*.

AGREEMENT AND QUITTANCE

[Between Roger Page of Scole and Robert Melton of Stuston,
 31st May, 1504, for the delivery of 36 coombs of barley to
 the latter.]

Fo. 59 v°. [A.D. 1504].

Be it knowen be thes present bill y^t I, Roger Page of
 Skoles in the Countez of Norffolk, haue sold onto Robert
 Melton, of Stuston in y^e Countez of Suffolk, upon y^e last day
 of May in y^e xix yere of y^e reigne of kyng Harry y^e vijth,
 xxxvj combes of barly of Chapmannys mett and Chapmannys
 ward, to be delyuered be y^e bushell of y^e seyde Robert so his
 bushell passyth not Harleston mett, and to be delyuered
 befor the fest of y^e natiuite of Cryste next commyng after
 y^e date of this presenttes; xx combes y^e of to be deleuered at
 my plase at Skoles aforseyd, and xvj combes to be delyuered
 with in a myle of the dwellyng plase of the seyde Robert; and
 I y^e seyde Roger Page knowlage me fully content and paid
 for the seid fyve⁶ and thretty combes barly the day of
 makyng of thes presentes, sealed with my seale. Yowyn the
 last daie of May in the xix yere of the reigne of kyng Herry
 the vijth, and if I the seid Roger or myne assignoris make
 defawte in the deleueraunce of y^e [fo. 60] seyde fyve and
 thretty combes barly befor the fest of Cristmes next
 commyng, than I the seid Roger Page bynde me myn
 heyres and executors to forfeite and paie to the seid Robert
 Melton and his assignoris iiij*l*. of lawful money of Ynglond.

⁶ "Fyve" is evidently a mistake for six, thirty-six being the number
 twice mentioned above.

Fo. 63 v^o.

A MEDYSON FOR THE ZELOW JAWDYS.¹

Fresh rosmary, tyme, betany, nepe, izope, selendyn.
safurun, long pepur, clowes, grennys, hony, tarmaraks.

[A blank space of two lines.]

Nutmygges, and greynys, and long peper, senamun and
clowes, masys.

[The rest of the page is blank. The above occurs on a
vacant page between some of the accounts, in a hand of the
same time, but differing slightly.]

¹ Apparently in Melton's hand, or one contemporary.

Finis.

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